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AN ANCIENT HISTORY

FOR BEGINNERS

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Equestrian Statue of Vespasian

A PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM

(Restored by Becchetti.)

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AN

ANCIENT HISTORY

FOR BEGINNERS

BY

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION," "A HISTORY OF GREECE," "A HISTORY OF THE ORIENT AND GREECE," AND "A HISTORY OF ROME"

WITH MAPS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

New York

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PREFACE

THE Committee of Seven, in their Report to the American Historical Association on the study of history in the schools (1899), recommended that a year be given to "Ancient History, with special reference to Greek and Roman history, but including also a short introductory study of the more ancient nations. This period should also embrace the early Middle Ages, and should close with the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire (800)," or some neighboring event.

Following the recommendation of the Committee, this book aims to present Ancient History as a unit, comprising three closely related parts, — the Orient, Greece, and Rome. It is adapted to beginning classes in the high school, and furnishes material for a year's work. This volume is not to take the place of the "Orient and Greece" and "Rome"; it is for those who need a briefer and more elementary treatment of ancient times.

As it is intended for pupils who have never studied history before, the story is told simply, all unfamiliar terms are explained, and proper names are syllabified and accented on their first occurrence. The larger topics are printed in bold type and their subdivisions are in italics.

Myth, the foundation of ancient thought and an important element of modern literature, receives due attention. Although especial prominence is given to the narrative, the effects of geographical conditions and the causal relation of events are explained in an elementary way.

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The manuscript has had the advantage of revision by Miss Lula Bartlit Southmayd of the Detroit High School, who used it as a text in her first-year class. The book has been greatly benefited by her ability and her practical experience with young pupils. Mr. Charles Lane Hanson of the Mechanic Arts High School, Boston, has carefully revised the manuscript and the proofs. Other improvements are due to Dr. Arthur Lyon Cross of the University of Michigan and to Mr. P. O. Robinson of the Commercial High School of New York City, — formerly of the St. Louis High School, — both of whom have read the proofs. Mr. W. J. S. Bryan, principal of the St. Louis High School, has also taken a helpful interest in the work of revision. Miss Emily F. Paine of Miss Spence's School, New York City, has aided me in obtaining several new illustrations, and has prepared the topics for reading in Roman art. My wife has made the new reference map of Greece. While I am sincerely grateful to all these helpers, I feel that it would be unjust to hold any of them responsible for faults which may still remain in the book. Lastly, I wish to thank the many teachers who have used my histories of Greece and Rome, and who have given me the benefit of their suggestions as well as their kind appreciation.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

NEW YORK CITY,
September 1, 1902.

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AN ANCIENT HISTORY

FOR BEGINNERS

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SECOND AND THIRD PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH
(View from the East)

ANCIENT HISTORY

PART I

THE ORIENT

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF CIVILIZATION — EGYPT

1. The Three Ages. — In the far distant past men lived in caves or in rude huts, dressed in skins, and used tools of bone, horn, and stone. This first stage of human progress is called the Stone Age. Some have continued in this barbarous condition to the present day; others in course of time advanced beyond it, and learned the use of bronze — a metal composed of copper and tin. With bronze tools men cut large trees and hewed stones for building; with weapons

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of the same metal they conquered and held in subjection their less intelligent neighbors. In the Bronze Age, therefore, men built substantial houses and cities, and founded kingdoms, — in other words, they began to be civilized. While some nations remained contented with this stage of progress, others learned the use of iron. With this hard but pliable metal men could do work of many more kinds and of a much better quality than had hitherto been possible. Hence the Iron Age marks a great advance beyond that of bronze.

Through these ages the world has been progressing in *civilization*. Those nations are most civilized which have the best homes, society, laws, and government, the most advanced science and art, the purest religion, the soundest morals, and the brightest minds. As some have advanced more rapidly than others, while many have remained in the lowest stage of savagery, we find among men of the present as well as of the past every variety and degree of civilization.

2. Races of Men. — Those grand divisions, or races, of mankind which from the beginning have made little or no improvement in their mode of life are the red race of the Americas, the black race of Africa and Australia, and the brown race of the Pacific islands. The Tu-ra'ni-an or Mon-go'li-an or yellow race of Asia, to which belong the Chinese, in ancient times advanced to a remarkable degree of civilization, and then came to a standstill. The Cau-cas'i-an or white race, whose early home was the region about the Mediterranean Sea, has made most progress in the past, and at present some branches of it are still more rapidly advancing.[1]

[1] Principal divisions of the white race: —

I. Hamites { E-gyp'ti-ans; Lib'y-ans

II. Semites { Ar'abs; Chal-de'ans (largely mixed with foreigners); As-syr'i-ans; Syrians { Ar-a-mae'ans; Phoe-ni'ci-ans; Hebrews }

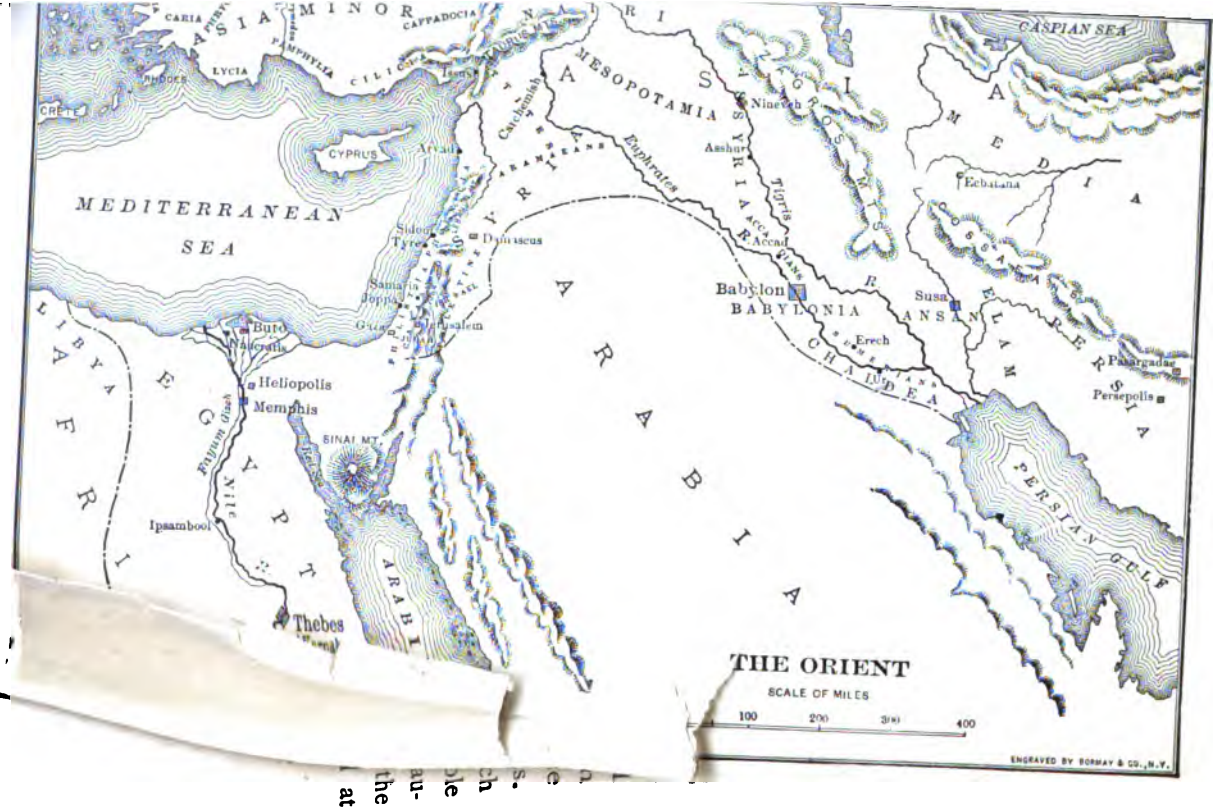
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There are three divisions of the white race: (1) the Ham'ites of northern Africa; (2) the Sem'ites of southwestern Asia; (3) the Ar'y-ans or Indo-Europeans, whose original home was probably the country north of the Black and Caspian seas in Europe and Asia. But in tracing the history of the nations we are to bear in mind that none of them remained pure in race; for migrations, conquests, and commercial or social intercourse have mingled their blood as well as their manners, customs, and ideas. This blending of races has been in fact a great cause of progress.[1]

3. Egypt. — Much improvement in mankind, however, is due to country and surroundings. And of all the region round the Mediterranean none is so favored by nature as the valley of the Nile River in northeastern Africa. Egypt, the lower part of this valley, extends from the First Cataract to the sea. It is seven hundred miles long, and varies in width from one or two to twelve miles. A hundred miles before the river reaches the sea, it divides into several channels, and the valley broadens into the Delta. Every summer, swollen by the rains and melting snows of the country in which it rises, the Nile overflows the valley; and when in December the water returns to the channel, it leaves the land fertilized with a rich coat of earth.

- III. Aryans
  - Asiatic branch
    - I-ra'ni-ans
      - Medes
      - Persians
    - Hin'doos
  - European branch
    - Greeks
    - Italians
    - Celts
    - Teu'tons (or Germans)
    - Slavs

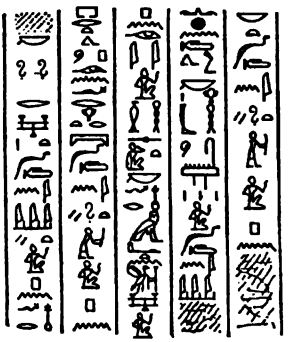
This grouping of races, though convenient for the study of political geography and history, is not strictly scientific.

[1] With the help of San'skrit, the classic language of India, scholars have discovered that the Hindoos, the Persians, and the various nations of Europe speak closely related languages, doubtless derived from a common parent tongue. Our word "father," for instance, is in Sanskrit *pitár*, in ancient Persian *pitar*, in Greek πατήρ (patér), in Latin *pater*, in German *vater*, and similarly through the other kindred tongues. These words for father have descended from a

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In fact the entire soil is composed of mud deposited in this manner. The land therefore is wonderfully fertile. With little labor a man can raise each year three crops of grain, grasses, flax, and vegetables. Grape-vines flourish on the hillsides, and wheat yields a hundred fold. The mountains produce an abundance of building stones and various kinds of metals. Commerce, too, is easy. Not only does the Nile form a natural waterway for domestic trade, but the country lies at the meeting of three continents and borders on two navigable seas. The warm climate makes little clothing necessary; the rainless sky preserves the works of men from decay; and the mountain chains and deserts on both sides protect the people from invading armies. With her natural resources and her situation, it is no wonder that Egypt became the birthplace of civilization.

4. Early Civilization; Sources. — The people who lived in this country were Hamites. We may suppose that they had once been barbarians, but as early as 4000 B.C. they were already acquainted with many of the arts. They had invented, too, a kind of writing in which objects were represented by pictures. A disk ⊙ stood for the sun, and a crescent ☽ for the moon. From pictures they passed to symbols; the disk of the sun ⊙ suggested day, and an axe 𓌳 god. In course of time there grew up a phonetic alphabet,[1] which they mingled



EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

single word in the parent speech. All these nations whose languages are so nearly connected we call Aryan or Indo-European. Kindred speech, however, does not prove kinship in blood; for often men adopt a foreign tongue and hand it down to their children. But as language is a great treasury of ideas, we inherit perhaps as much from our parent speech as from our blood. From this point of view those who speak a common language may conveniently be regarded as belonging to the same race.

[1] That is, an alphabet in which each letter represents a single sound.

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with their pictures and symbols. As the priests always used these early, difficult characters for religious purposes, they are called hieroglyphs — sacred inscriptions. A running style, however, known in its later form as common or de-mot'ic, came into use in literature and business.

The Pha'raohs, or kings, of the country *took great pains to have their deeds recorded.* They reckoned time by the years of their reigns and by ruling families, or dynasties. Man'e-tho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., wrote a history of his country. Though the book disappeared, long extracts from it made by later writers are still our chief source of information for dates. Some time after Manetho all knowledge of the Egyptian alphabets was lost to the world till in 1822 Cham-pol'li-on (pron. Sham-), a French scholar, deciphered them. In Napoleon's invasion of Egypt there had come to light a stone containing the inscription of a decree in hieroglyphic and demotic characters with a Greek translation. From the place where it was found the slab is called the Rosetta Stone. By comparing the corresponding letters of the proper names in this inscription, Champollion learned a sufficient number of letters to serve as a key for determining the whole alphabet.

5. The Old Empire (about 4800–3000 B.C.). — At first the Egyptians lived in small states, each under a petty king. In course of time, however, the kings of Memphis became so strong that they acquired the rule over all Egypt. As their country was made up of many states, it may be called an empire. Through the period of the Old Empire Memphis remained the capital.

The first Pharaoh was Me'nes, whom the Egyptians regarded as the founder of Memphis. The next famous dynasty after that of Menes was the fourth in the list. The Pharaohs of this family built the three pyramids at Gizeh (pron. Gee'zeh), in the cemetery of ancient Memphis. Khu'fu, the most illustrious of his dynasty, made the largest pyramid. For thirty years his subjects labored on it a hundred thousand at a time, relieving one another every three

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months. The building covers thirteen acres, and originally stood about four hundred and eighty feet high. We cannot understand by what means the workmen could lift and place the stones, — some of which weigh fifty tons or more, — or by what mechanical skill the architects could prevent the great mass from falling in upon the chambers and corridors. Khufu intended it for his tomb. Evidently he thought that if his body could rest quietly in a sepulchre made for eternity, it would be well with his soul. The second pyramid is not so large as the first, and the third is far smaller but costlier, as it was cased in brilliant red granite. Near this group is the famous sphinx, a gigantic, human-headed lion, carved from a hard, fine rock.



THE SPHINX OF GIZEH

6. The Middle Empire (3000–2000 B.C.). — The fourth dynasty was followed by a long period of confusion and strife throughout Egypt. The trouble was owing chiefly to the character of the kings, who were too weak to hold the states or provinces of the empire together. Meanwhile Memphis declined in importance, and finally Thebes became the capital. The Pharaohs of the eleventh dynasty were Theban. They began the period of the Middle Empire, which lasted from 3000 to 2000 B.C.

The Pharaohs of the *twelfth dynasty* conquered Ethiopia, carried

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on an extensive trade with Syria, and built splendid temples in the cities of their realm. Among the distinguished kings of the family was A-men'em-hat' III, noted chiefly for his improvement of Fay-ûm', an oasis in the desert near the lower Nile. By digging a canal from the Nile to Fayûm he made it possible to flood this low region so as greatly to increase its productivity. A lake in the oasis served as a reservoir from which he could irrigate not only the district itself, but the entire western half of the valley from Fayûm to the sea.

7. **The Hyksos** (about 2000–1500 B.C.). — In the decline which followed this great dynasty a horde of barbarians known as the Hyk'sos — "shepherd kings" — came in from Asia. They plundered the country as far as Fayûm, burned cities, and slew the inhabitants without mercy. They brought Egypt again to a low condition of civilization. During the five hundred years of their rule, however, they gradually adopted the customs and ideas of their subjects. Finally A-ma'sis, prince of Thebes, defeated them and drove out their king and army.

8. **The New Empire** (about 1500–525 B.C.). The eighteenth dynasty was the first of the New Empire, which extended from the expulsion of the Hyksos to the conquest of the country by the Greeks.[1] The kings of this dynasty first attended to the restoration of their country. They rebuilt ruined shrines, enlarged the temple of Ammon at Thebes, — founded long before, — put down all political opposition in their own land, and reconquered Ethiopia. Meantime they began the conquest of Syria — a work completed by Thoth'mes III. His empire reached from the southern border of Ethiopia to the Euphrates River.

But his country found a powerful enemy in the Hit'tites, a warlike people who lived on both sides of Mount Tau'rus. With their allies from Asia Minor they soon wrested from Egypt all northern Syria. *Set'i I*, an able Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, warred against them in vain; his son *Ra-me'ses II* in sixteen years of hard fighting stayed their conquest. He then divided Syria with them by treaty.

[1] § 194.

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Father and son were among Egypt's most famous builders. The grandest of Seti's works was the pillared hall which formed the main entrance to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes. Modern travellers have wondered at the long rows of gigantic columns which once supported the lofty roof. Undoubtedly this hall is "the most splendid single chamber that has ever been built by any architect, and even in its ruins one of the grandest sights that the world contains."[1] Recently the columns have suffered great injury from digging beneath them. As a builder Rameses II is even more famous than his father. Throughout Egypt he repaired old temples and erected new ones. The proud monarch had his sculptors make many enormous statues of himself that all might duly appreciate his great majesty. Following the Egyptian custom



HALL OF COLUMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF AMMON
(Thebes, now Karnak)

[1] Rawlinson, *Story of Egypt*, p. 245.

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of covering walls and columns with pictures and writing, he took especial pleasure in representing his personal combats with the Hittites. As he employed many foreigners on his works, some believe that he was the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews then in Egypt, and that his weak son Me-neph'tha was the one in whose reign they set out for the promised land.

Soon after Rameses the country divided into small states, which in time fell under the rule of Assyria. Then with the help of Greek mercenaries *Psam-met'i-chus*, governor of one of these states, reunited Egypt and freed it from Assyria. As he treated the Greeks liberally, many settled in the Delta, and many came to see the wonders of the country and to learn its wisdom. After his dynasty had ruled nearly a hundred and fifty years, however, Egypt became a part of the Persian empire (525 B.C.).[1]

9. Oriental Civilization. — The civilization of the Orient — comprising Egypt and Asia — contrasts strikingly with that of Europe. The Easterner has a vivid imagination, but his reasoning power has never been so strong or so well trained as that of the European. He does not think consistently or follow his reason, but is naturally obedient, ready to yield to authority. As a result of this character religion exercises great influence over all his actions; and he holds the priests in especial reverence. In political matters he has no thought of independence, but obeys the king as a child obeys his parent. Government in the Orient, therefore, is always monarchical; the kings are absolute masters of their subjects. This power enables them to build on a grand scale. Hence we find throughout the Orient vast ruins of palaces, temples, statues, and other works. Though in the main all Eastern nations are alike, they show some minor differences of character and customs. We shall now notice the civilization of Egypt.

10. Classes of People. — Throughout their history most of the people were *poor*. They lived in mud huts; they dressed in a single

[1] §§ 26, 101.

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cotton garment; their children went unclad to the age of twelve or fourteen. While the mother carried water, ground meal between two stones, baked bread in the ashes, sewed, spun, and wove, the father worked from morning till night in the field or at his trade. Whether as peasant, swineherd, cowherd, boatman, shopkeeper, or artisan — in any case he toiled under a master who beat him for the slightest mistake or inattention to duty. Nevertheless he was happy; he laughed heartily at everything, and on pay-day indulged too freely in beer.

Though children of every class usually followed the occupation of the parents, some of the ambitious poor sent their boys to school, where they learned to read and write. With this opportunity an intelligent youth might become a *scribe*. With industry, skill, and intelligence he might rise through the various grades of this profession to a high office or a priesthood. He could then have a fine brick mansion, a beautiful garden, land, and slaves.

The *priests* were a numerous and wealthy class, for the gods owned a third of the land of Egypt, and each required the service of many priests or priestesses. At the head of this class stood Pharaoh, himself a god with supreme control of the state religion. Reserving for his kinsmen the chief priesthoods of the great national divinities, he permitted the governors of provinces to hold the highest offices in their several districts. Thus it often happened that a man was at once priest and magistrate.

The priests dressed in linen, bathed twice each day and twice in the night, and shaved their heads, faces, and entire bodies, to keep themselves as clean as possible. "They enjoy good things not a few, for they do not consume or spend any of their own substance, but have sacred bread baked for them, and they have each a great quantity of beef and geese coming in to them every day, and also wine of grapes is given them."[1] They lived in the sacred buildings, drew salaries from the temple revenues, and with the sacred scribes,

[1] Herodotus ii. 37.

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attendants, and artisans, they were free from taxes and military service. There is no wonder then that every one longed to be a priest.

Far less favored was the *military class*. Those who belonged to it received from the king seven-acre lots free from taxes. This class, accordingly, occupied another third of the land. The army was made up of spearmen, archers, and men in chariots. As the military class did not suffice, each province sent a company of common men, and many foreigners served the king for pay. The Egyptian disliked



COFFIN AND MUMMY OF A KING OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY
(Amenophis I)

military duties, and fought without spirit. "Come, now, whilst I tell you about his march into Syria, his journeys to distant lands. His provisions and water are upon his shoulders like the burden of an ass, and weigh upon his neck like that of an ass, till the joints of his spine are displaced. He drinks foul water — still perpetually mounting guard. When he reaches the enemy? — he is only a trembling bird. If he returns to Egypt? — he is no better than old, worm-eaten wood."[1]

[1] Cf. Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, p. 90.

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11. Religion. — Men preferred to die at home that their kinsmen might provide for their happiness in the *spirit world.* As they believed that the soul, or double, perished with the body, they took great pains to have the corpse embalmed so as to preserve it forever. They placed with it in the tomb furniture, tools, and ornaments for the use of the double. The dwellings of the wealthy dead were real palaces, even more sumptuously furnished and adorned than the homes of the living. In popular belief the double lived content in his tomb, coming forth to disturb those kinsmen only who failed to bring him food; and when all offerings ceased, he partook of the sacrifices painted or carved on the walls of his dwelling, for to him these pictures were real. Some, however, imagined that the doubles travelled a difficult road westward to a large lake, whence they could see the Blessed Isles in the distance. An ibis carried them across, or they embarked in a boat rowed by a divine ferryman. When they had come to the other shore, O-si'ris with forty-two assistants judged them for the deeds done in the body. If innocent, they dwelt henceforth in fertile fields, holding eternal holiday.[1]

An extremely religious people, the Egyptians believed in a multitude of *gods*, who had the forms of men and women, of monsters, or of animals, as birds, fish, crocodiles, cats, dogs, and cattle. The highest of all is Ra, the sun-god. Born every morning, he guides his bark over the heaven, descending at night to the river beneath the earth. He fights with the serpent who brings night and eclipse; he triumphs over his enemy, and is born anew at the dawn. The Pharaohs imitate his majesty and erect obelisks[2] to represent his rays. Horus is the sky; his eyes are the sun and moon. Sometimes his worshippers think of him, too, as a hero traversing each day the heaven in

[1] The monuments and literature of the Egyptians afford no evidence of a belief in the transmigration of souls.

[2] An obelisk is a tall, four-sided pillar gradually tapering upward. The shaft is a single stone. The Pharaohs erected many obelisks, one of which now stands in Central Park, New York City.

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glory and at night contending with his dark brother Set, the spirit of the earth.

Of the many gods of the river the chief is *O-si'ris*, giver of joy and life. Slain by his wicked brother, he rose from the dead and sits in judgment on souls. *I'sis*, his wife, is the spirit of the fertile soil, from which all derive their sustenance. Each city and province has a supreme deity. The least noble feature of their religion is the worship of animals. The people of Memphis, for instance, have a temple to A'pis, the bull in whom dwells the soul of Ptah. During the life of the animal they keep him in extravagant luxury, and when he dies they embalm him at enormous expense, and mourn him till the priests find another bull into which the deity has entered.

To preserve their ceremonies they committed them to writing. Among these works the *Book of the Dead* gives the soul minute directions for his journey from the death-bed to the Isles of the Blest. Many of their hymns to the gods, proverbs, fables, stories of adventure, and even some of their novels have come down to us. We have, too, a great mass of their letters and documents, besides abundant inscriptions on temples, tombs, statues, and obelisks.

12. Industries and Science. — They made an excellent paper from the pa-py'rus, an abundant marsh reed. They excelled in many industrial arts. The fine linen of Egypt was renowned the world over. After the conquest of Syria had brought the country vast riches, the goldsmiths showed rare skill in making rings, bracelets, and other jewellery. At the same time the wealthy began to display on their tables a great variety of beautiful plate. The bronze smiths made delicate enamel work and graceful statuettes. Glass-workers blew their material in artistic forms, or cut and colored it in imitation of gems.

They made equal progress in the *useful sciences*. For the purpose of surveying their land, they sought out the essentials of arithmetic and geometry. In their cloudless sky they followed the wanderings of the planets and observed the risings and settings of the stars.

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Astronomy aided them in determining the solar year of three hundred and sixty-five and a fourth days. Their medical writings show an accurate knowledge of anatomy, but superstitiously prescribe charms for the cure of diseases.

A conservative people, the Egyptians from the beginning insisted on *preserving the customs of the ancestors*. Gradually this respect for the wisdom of past generations grew on them till they absolutely refused to learn anything new. By the end of the Hyksos period all progress had ceased. The priests had reduced the minutest details of worship to fixed forms, from which no one dared depart. As the books now prescribed what they, the king, and the high magistrates should do at every hour in the day, the upper class became the slaves of ceremony. In the same way they regulated the arts and sciences, so that future artists merely imitated existing models, and physicians were strictly held to the written word. Meantime the wealth of the people had gone to the gods, superstition had robbed their sound moral precepts of all meaning, their intellectual life had come to a standstill — Egypt was a mummy.

Topics for Reading

I. Brief History. — Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, ch. iii; Mariette, *Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History*; Rawlinson, *Story of Egypt*, to p. 380.

II. Life. — Erman, ch. viii; Rawlinson, pp. 60–64; Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chs. i–x.

III. Temples. — Maspero, *Egyptian Archaeology*, ch. ii. § 2.

IV. Tombs. — Maspero, *Egyptian Archaeology*, ch. iii.

V. Useful Arts. — Erman, chs. xviii, xix; Maspero, *Egyptian Archæology*, ch. v.

VI. Beliefs and Customs. — Herodotus ii. 37–97.

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CHAPTER II

THE ASIATIC NATIONS

13. The Geography and People of Western Asia. — East of Egypt, across the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf, is the sandy desert of Arabia. The map of the Orient, facing page 3, shows the great area of this country. It forms the central part of *a broad triangle*, the east side of which is the Za'grōs range and the west side is the Mediterranean Sea and the Taurus range. Throughout the country there is little rain; and the districts not watered by springs or rivers are therefore very dry. Most of the people of this triangle were Semites,[1] and their parent stock was probably the wandering race of Arabs. In addition to Arabia, the triangle contains two regions, — the basin of the Ti'gris and Eu-phra'tes rivers on the east and Syria on the west, — separated by the Arabian and Syrian deserts. Syria is a land of hills and mountains; the river region is a plain consisting of an undulating upland, named As-syr'i-a, in the north and a flat lowland, called Chaldea (pron. Kal-de'a), in the south. The peoples of the river basin and of Syria were one in race, in speech, and in civilization. Their history, too, is closely connected. It begins nearly as far back in the past as that of Egypt; and for more than three thousand years (3800–550 B.C.) they were the chief nations of Asia.

Finally when this triangular area ceased to be the centre of Asiatic history, the *mountainous highland* east of the Zagros range came into prominence. It was occupied at that time (about 550 B.C.) by the Medes and the Persians, two nations of Aryan

[1] § 2.

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speech and closely related to each other. From their time to ours men of Aryan speech have ruled the civilized world.

Extending westward from the continent of Asia and nearly surrounded by seas and straits is the broad peninsula called *Asia Minor*. The interior is a dry table-land; along the coasts are low fertile plains. In ancient times many nations occupied this country. The most important were the Greeks who came as colonists to the western coasts, and the Lyd'i-ans in the interior near the Greeks.[1] There was commerce between Asia and Europe, not only by sea but also overland through Asia Minor. This peninsula, therefore, did a good service to civilization by helping bring the Asiatics and the Europeans together.

I. The People about the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers

14. The Supremacy of Chaldea (3800–1250 B.C.). — Chaldea, the flat country on the lower Euphrates, was nearly as fertile as Egypt. It was watered, however, not by overflows, but by autumn rains and by canals from the river. The earliest inhabitants whom we know were the *Su-me'ri-ans* or Ac-ca'di-ans, who were probably of Turanian[2] blood. In early time, however, great numbers of Semites had settled in the country with the older inhabitants; and while the earlier language continued in use for official and religious purposes, the Semitic tongue prevailed in everyday life. These two races gradually formed the Chaldean people, renowned as the beginners of civilization in Asia.

The chief cities were Ur, Ac'cad, and Bab'y-lon. At the beginning of their written history, about 2400 B.C., Ur was the capital of nearly all the country. It did not hold this position long, for a century later the king of E'lam conquered all Chaldea, and his successors continued to govern it for two hundred years. The Elamites readily adopted the religion and the superior civilization of their subjects. Not content with this small country, they marched farther west, and

[1] See map of Greece, between pp. 40, 41.

[2] § 2.

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subdued Syria. Through this conquest, as well as through earlier trade, the Syrians received many ideas and useful arts from Chaldea.[1]

Years after the fall of the Elamite empire, Babylon became the capital of Chaldea. Though in 1250 B.C. it was compelled to submit to the king of Assyria, it remained long afterward the wealthiest and most refined city of Asia.

15. The Supremacy of Assyria (1250–606 B.C.). — In the upland about the Tigris River was the younger but more famous Semitic state of Assyria. When we first become acquainted with the Assyrians, we find them struggling with surrounding nations and gradually extending their kingdom by conquests. About 1250 B.C. they subdued Babylon, which they continued to rule for six centuries. Meantime they gradually extended their empire northeastward to the Caspian Sea and in the opposite direction to Egypt.

The kings of earlier states had been content with receiving gifts from conquered peoples; but the Assyrian monarchs introduced the custom of organizing subject countries in provinces. Each province was under a governor appointed by the king; each had taxes to pay and other duties to perform. This system marks a great advance in the art of government.

In course of time, however, as the kings became less warlike and able, their power declined. Taking advantage of the weakness of Assyria, the king of Media and the viceroy of Babylon together led their forces against Nin'e-veh, the capital. After a two years' siege they took the city and sacked it. When they had finished their work, her splendid temples and palaces were ruins. At the same time the empire fell (606 B.C.).

PERSONS AND EVENTS IN ASSYRIAN HISTORY

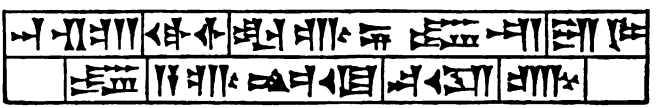
B.C.	
1125.	Tig'lath-Pi-le'ser I, first notable Assyrian conqueror.
860–783.	First great age of Assyria.
745–727.	Tiglath-Pileser II, a great organizer as well as conqueror.

[1] § 22.

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722–705. Sar'gon, a great organizer and statesman; Assyria at the height of her glory.
705–680. Sen-nach'e-rib wages war with Egypt and Israel, and destroys Babylon.
680–668. E'sar-had'don rebuilds Babylon and conquers Egypt.
668–626. As'shur-ban'i-pal, the last magnificent king.
Egypt and Media become independent.
The Scyth'i-ans invade the empire.
606. The destruction of Nineveh.

16. The Supremacy of Babylon (606–538 B.C.). In destroying Nineveh the viceroy of Babylon made his city independent. His son, Neb-u-chad-nez'zar, in an able reign of forty-four years, built up an empire which reached westward to the Mediterranean. A great part of his energy he devoted to the improvement of his



A CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION

country and to its defence against the Median empire, which extended along his northern border. He fortified this frontier with a brick wall a hundred feet high, and surrounded his city with massive defences. While he maintained peace with Media, he was thus preparing to resist an attack. The Medians troubled him little, but some years after his death his city fell into the hands of the Persians (538 B.C.).[1]

17. Civilization of Chaldea and Assyria; Literature. — The Chaldean alphabet was far different from that of Egypt. Each letter was a group of wedge-shaped marks, whence the writing is termed cuneiform — from *cu'nĕ-us*, a wedge. Some letters represented words, others syllables. Instead of paper they used bricks and clay tablets. The Assyrians adopted this alphabet, and even used the old Sumerian language for religious purposes. Hence it has come about that modern scholars, after deciphering the Assyrian writing with the

[1] § 26.

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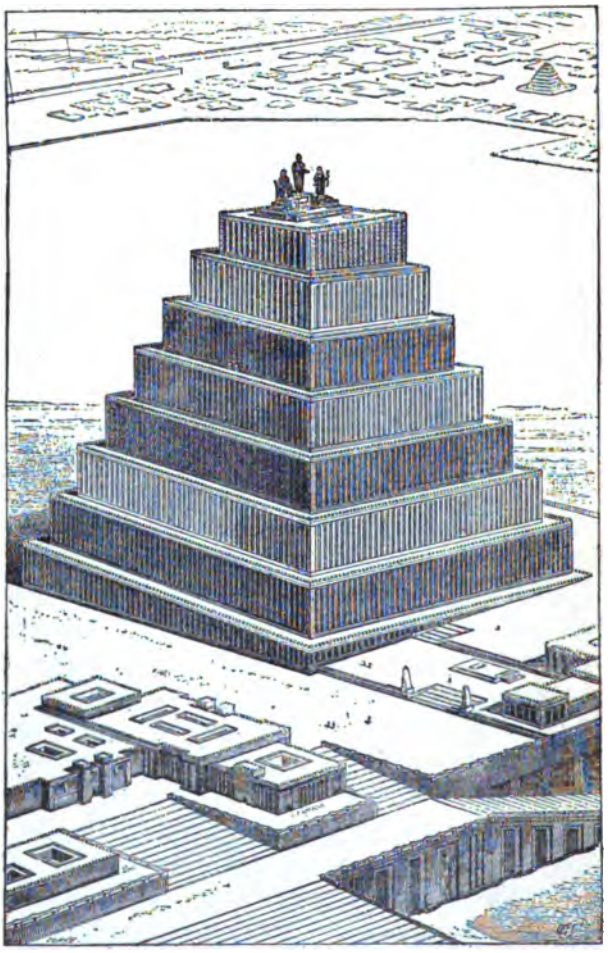
greatest difficulty, have been able to proceed from this starting-point to the vastly older literature of Ur and Accad. In addition to grammars, dictionaries, religious books and hymns, they have left us business accounts, public documents, and laws, which throw light upon their private and social life. They had two national epics, — one the story of creation closely related to that given in our Bible, and the other a tale of the hero Iz-du-bar'. The latter story tells how strangers oppressed the holy city E'rech till mighty Izdubar killed the cruel king and set his country free. The hero's combats with monsters remind us of the labors of the Greek Her'a-cles,[1] whereas the story of the flood, which forms part of the epic, resembles the one we have read in our Bible.

The Assyrians inherited all this literature and added greatly to the store. The kings were careful to keep minute records of their reigns, and especially the later rulers took pleasure in making collections of books. The library found in the palace of King Asshur-bani-pal at Nineveh is a treasure to modern scholars.

18. Religion. — The two nations of the river basin possessed the same religion as well as the same literature. The dense population about the lower Euphrates had to contend against many evils, — the desert wind, swarms of devouring locusts, fever, and plague. The spirits of these destroying forces were demons, whom art represented as horrible monsters. Chief of the higher deities were An'u, king of heaven and father of the gods; Bel, lord of earth; and the wise E'a, master of destiny, whose dwelling was in the waters. These three formed the supreme triad. The second triad was composed of Sin, the moon; Sha'mash, the sun; and Ram'man, who from his home in the air governed the rains and the storms. These six gods, together with their wives, formed a grand council, below which came the deities of the five planets, — Ju'pi-ter, Venus, Sat'urn, Mars, and Mercury, — then several other orders of celestial and terrestrial spirits. The chief goddess was Ish'tar (or As-tar'te), the

[1] § 45.

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A CHALDEAN TEMPLE

(Restored; Chipiez, after Strabo)

evening and morning star, queen of life and nature, sometimes thought of as pure, sometimes as grossly immoral. In addition to

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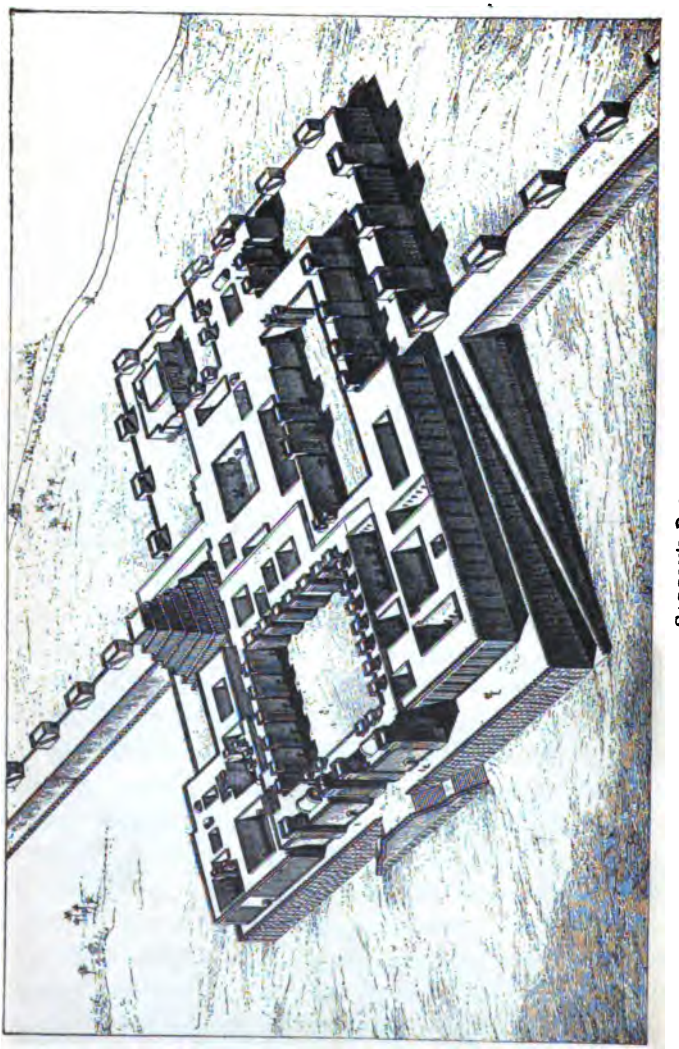
these Chaldean gods the Assyrians worshipped As'shur, who gave his name to the country and the people. He was the great lord, the peerless chief of all the gods, the protector of the king.

The Chaldeans and Assyrians worshipped idols of stone and clay. They brought their offerings to the priest, who presented these sacrifices to the gods. As the priests alone were acquainted with religious ceremonies, they occupied a place of great honor and influence. The king as the chief of the class appointed festivals, in which magistrates and priests marched in solemn procession and offered costly sacrifices. As conquests brought wealth, the higher classes lived in luxury and became immoral.

19. Art. — As the Chaldeans had little wood or stone, they used for their buildings bricks made of clay mixed with straw. With this material they erected high terraced towers as foundations for *temples*, and surrounded their cities with huge walls. Such works had neither the art nor the durability of Egyptian buildings. In place of grand ruins scattered over their plains we therefore find mere heaps of rubbish.

Lacking originality, the Assyrians adopted the art as well as the literature and the religion of Chaldea. Although their country abounded in stone, they made their buildings almost wholly of brick, and preferred artificial mounds to hills as sites for temples and palaces. In Chaldea the temple was the all-important building; the Assyrian king, on the other hand, devoted his wealth and the labor of his subjects to the erection of an enormous *palace*. As a foundation he raised a huge rectangular platform of sun-dried bricks, or sometimes of earth, held in on all sides by stone walls. On one end were flights of steps for people on foot, and on an adjoining side an inclined road for animals and carriages. On this mound the king built his oblong dwelling, which contained great open courts, several long narrow halls of state, and a multitude of smaller rooms. It was probably but one story high, and the roofs of the various parts rested on wooden rafters. In one quarter, however, rose a terraced

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SARGON'S PALACE
(Restored; from Perrot and Chipiez)

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tower of the Chaldean pattern, on the top of which stood the chapel. The palace was vast; that of Sennacherib at Nineveh covered more than twenty acres. Works of such material decayed so rapidly that a king usually preferred the glory of building a new palace to the expensive task of repairing that of his father.



A WINGED BULL

(Assyrian art; from Perrot and Chipiez)

At the gates stood pairs of colossal *lions* or *bulls* with wings and human heads; and the alabaster slabs which faced the lower part of the walls within the courts and halls were decorated with bas-reliefs representing scenes from the life of the king. Although his sculptors did not succeed in making the human form graceful, they excelled in the lifelike representation of animals.

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Under the Babylonian supremacy *public works* were carried out on the grandest scale. Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt Babylon with great magnificence. It lay on both banks of the Euphrates in the form of a square about fifty miles in circuit. The king surrounded it with a wall eighty-seven feet in thickness and three hundred and fifty feet high. He built, too, a wall along each bank of the river within the city.

The number of laborers at his command we may judge from his statement that but fifteen days were required to build his great palace. To please his Median queen, who was accustomed to mountain scenery, he constructed the famous "hanging gardens" — an artificial hill rising in terraces, supported by arches and covered with trees, shrubbery, and flowers. These gardens as well as the walls were among the wonders of the world. The king erected, too, the great terraced temple of Bel, eight stories high, with an inclined road winding about it from base to summit. The rich built their houses along the broad straight avenues which the king had laid out. In his time Babylon was the largest, the richest, and probably the most attractive city in the world.

20. Science and Industry. — In science as well as in literature and religion the Semites of the Tigris and Euphrates basin aimed at the useful. They excelled in agriculture, and made equal progress with the Egyptians in arithmetic and geometry. But their greatest advance was in astronomy. From immemorial time the Chaldean priests in their lofty temples watched the sky and recorded daily the movements of the stars.[1] They gave the world weights, measures, the sun-dial, the water-clock, the division of the month into four weeks and of the day into hours and minutes. All their knowledge they committed to books, whose pages were clay tablets, carefully placed in order in the library of the king's palace or of the chief temple for the use of scribes, priests, and officials.

[1] We are told by an ancient writer that the record of astronomical observation began in 2234 B.C.

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Skilled industry, beginning in the earliest Chaldean times, reached a high degree of excellence under Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonians of his age manufactured articles of metal, glass, and clay; but their most famous wares were tapestries, muslin, and linen. Their merchandise they had long been sending abroad over the whole civilized world, till many nations had learned their ideas, their science, and their useful arts. The civilization of Babylon prevailed throughout western Asia; it deeply influenced Asia Minor, and reached even to Europe.

21. Government and War. — The Chaldeans were inventors in art, science, and skilled industry; the Assyrians in political and military organization. The latter introduced provinces and tributes, as we have already noticed,[1] and they governed more skilfully than had the Egyptians and the Chaldeans. Their armies moved with a fierce energy which terrified enemies; and those who dared resist or rebel the king punished with the utmost cruelty. A king thus boasts of a conquest, — "I built a pillar at the gate of the city; I then flayed the chief men, and covered the post with their skins; I hung the dead bodies from the same pillar, I impaled others on top of the pillar, and I ranged others on stakes round the pillar."[2] All the Asiatics, however, were cruel; and it would not be fair to think of the Assyrians as much less humane than their fellows.

In taking leave of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, we may say that they developed some of the arts and sciences, as well as political and military organization, beyond the point reached by the Egyptians, and that through commerce and conquest they gave their ideas and inventions to many foreign nations. In this way they greatly aided the progress of the world.

II. The Syrians

22. The Phoenicians. — In contrast with the plain of the Tigris and Euphrates, Syria, as we have seen,[3] is a mountainous country.

[1] § 15. [2] Cf. Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 638 f. [3] § 13.

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The Semitic tribes who occupied most of it would not combine in their own defence, and therefore had usually to submit to the rule either of Egypt or of the great states about the Tigris and Euphrates. Their location, however, between two seats of civilization gave them an opportunity to profit by the ideas and inventions of both, and to gain wealth by carrying merchandise from one to the other. As early as 3000 B.C. they were adopting the customs and the arts of Chaldea, and were carrying on a lively trade with Egypt.

The principal Semitic tribes or nations of Syria were the Aramaeans in the north, the Phoenicians on the coast, and the Hebrews in Ca'naan, a district in the south. The Phoenicians occupied the narrow strip of land between the sea and Mount Leb'an-on.

Careful tillers of the soil, they made this little country produce its utmost. In the mountains they cut the famous "cedars of Lebanon" for palaces and temples in all the neighboring states, and from a small shell-fish in the sea they made a rich purple dye for the use of lords and kings. "They were skilful workers in metals, and produced exquisite cups, dishes, ewers, and ornaments of all sorts in gold, silver, and bronze; their glasswares were as famous as Bohemian and Venetian glass is nowadays; and their looms were not idle."[1]

Sidon and Tyre were the chief cities. Sidon, reputed the elder, grew from a fishing station to a great centre of commerce. In course of time (about 1000 B.C.) it was surpassed by Tyre, built partly on a rocky island near the coast.

As the *commerce* of the Phoenicians was already extensive in the fifteenth century B.C., we may suppose that hundreds of years earlier they began their voyages in the Mediterranean. Their chief object was to search for the shell-fish, which they found in abundance along the coast of Asia Minor and of Greece, and for the precious and useful metals. In their trade with the natives, they bartered Oriental goods for the raw products or the finished wares of every country to which they came. On the shores and islands of the Ae-ge'an Sea

[1] Ragozin, *Story of Assyria*, p. 81.

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they found an especially active people. Here flourished a civilization nearly as ancient as that of Chaldea. Modern scholars have generally believed that the Phoenicians brought these people the rudiments of civilization. In fact it is impossible to determine how early and in what way the Easterners and Westerners came to know each other. The Phoenician merchant continued to trade with the Aegean folk long after they had learned to live in cities, to enjoy the refinements of civilization, and to show taste and skill in the manufacture of various wares. He found a successful rival in the Cretans, a seafaring people, who doubtless for centuries carried on much of the trade between the Orient and Europe (about 1600–1100 B.C.). But when the Cretan naval power declined, the Phoenicians pushed westward. Wherever convenient they founded trading stations, as in Cyprus, in Rhodes, at Carthage in northern Africa, and at Ga'des (Cadiz) in southern Spain. They obtained tin from Britain and amber from the Baltic shores. Their trade by ship and caravan extended from the British Isles to India. Not only were they the greatest commercial people of the ancient world, but the carriers of civilization throughout their journeys by land and sea. Their best achievement is the invention of a purely phonetic alphabet of twenty-two letters, from which all other phonetic alphabets are supposed to have been derived.

The Hebrews

23. Conquest of Canaan. — In the desert of Arabia, probably the early home of the Semites,[1] most of the tribes had no settled abode but wandered about with their flocks in search of pasture. It often happened that a tribe abandoned the severe motherland for some more pleasant country, where it either conquered the earlier dwellers or settled peaceably among them. In this way the Semites occupied Chaldea, Assyria, and Syria. The great states often found it necessary to fight against the Arabs in order to confine

[1] § 13.

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these rovers to their own country; but when no one was able to attend to this service, fresh hordes poured forth from the wilderness upon the cultivated lands and the towns of the neighborhood.

Such an invading race were the Hebrews. Their writers tell us that Abraham, their remote ancestor, left his home in Ur to wander in Canaan, a land Jehovah had promised him and his descendants, and that after many years his grandson Jacob, or Is'ra-el, went with his family to Egypt to escape famine. From this country four centuries later Moses led the Israelites, now a numerous host, into the desert of Mount Si'nai, there to receive laws from Jehovah before journeying onward to the promised land. After dwelling some time about Mount Sinai, they invaded Canaan, seized the land, and killed or enslaved the inhabitants. This conquest took place probably about the middle of the twelfth century B.C.

In their new home the twelve tribes, who claimed descent from the twelve sons of Israel, occupied each a distinct territory. For about a century and a half the tribes had little political connection with one another (about 1150–1010 B.C.); accordingly the *judges*, who generally ruled each a part of the nation, found it impossible to protect the people from their neighbors. Under these circumstances most of the Israelites became subject to the Phi-lis'tĭnes, who lived west of them on the coast. About the year 1010 B.C. Saul, a noble of the tribe of Benjamin, defeated the Philistines and won thereby the title of king of his tribe. He displayed remarkable energy in uniting the Hebrews under his control and in freeing them from their oppressors. But in the end these terrible enemies overthrew his army, and killed both the king and his son Jon'a-than.

24. David (1000–962) and Solomon (962–930 B.C.). — David, already anointed king of his tribe Judah, in time made Israel a single state wholly independent of Philistia. By conquering various small tribes of Syria he extended his kingdom northward to the Euphrates and southward nearly to Egypt. Jerusalem, which to his time had remained in the hands of the Canaanites, he made the capital and

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religious centre of his realm. As the founder of the united kingdom and of Jehovah's shrine at Jerusalem, he became the national hero of the Israelites. Notwithstanding these great services his extensive wars and heavy taxes oppressed the people, who were ready to follow his son Ab'sa-lom in a revolt against the king. But the son fell, and the father continued to rule.

When David died, Solomon, another son, succeeded to the throne. His reign was in many ways glorious. Devoting himself to peace, he built in Jerusalem a magnificent temple to Jehovah. His ships in the Mediterranean and Red seas brought him the products of distant lands. He surrounded his court with all the luxury and splendor of an Oriental despot. His empire did not last long, however, for in his own lifetime Da-mas'cus, regaining its freedom, became the seat of a rival *Aramaean power*.[1] After his death the Hebrews divided into two states: *Judah* continued under the rule of his descendants, but the other tribes revolted and established the kingdom of *Israel*, whose capital soon came to be Samaria. Henceforth these three states, in addition to some smaller tribes of Syria, were constantly at war with one another, while both Israel and Judah suffered from civil strife. In time they all became tributary to the Assyrians, who, to punish Israel for frequent rebellion, carried the people into captivity. Some time afterward Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, treated Judah in the same way, and destroyed Jerusalem (586 B.C.). Finally the Jews — men of Judah — returned and rebuilt their city (§§ 15, 16, 26).

25. Religion and Literature. — Before the period of exile most of the Hebrews were worshippers of the various Semitic gods. Some of their religious customs and ideas they had brought with them from the desert; many others they adopted from the Canaanites. From very early time, however, there were among them leaders and prophets who saw in Jehovah the only God, and who strove to uproot paganism wholly from the nation. The establishment of Jehovah's

[1] § 22.

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shrine with a priesthood at Jerusalem — the work of David — was an important step in this direction. Under Solomon the masses were still idolatrous; and the crafty king patronized the gods in order to secure the good will of his Canaanitish subjects. The priests and prophets of Jehovah, however, continued to insist on the commandment, "Thou shalt worship no other god: for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God." To keep his worship pure they emphasized another commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."[1] Gradually the people learned that Jehovah was Lord of the whole world, and that the so-called gods were unreal. They were helped to this belief by their long political bondage to Assyria, and especially by their captivity in Chaldea. Restored Jerusalem knew no god but Jehovah, who demanded of his worshippers moral as well as ceremonial holiness.

Before the captivity the Hebrews lived chiefly by tilling the soil; but their long stay in Babylon, the centre of Oriental trade, made of them a commercial people. From that time many of them travelled over the world and settled in foreign lands in order to carry on business. Wherever they went they built synagogues; and it was in these houses of worship that Christianity was first proclaimed. The effects of the captivity were therefore far-reaching.

The Hebrews produced no science. Their religion discouraged art, but fostered literature. Prominent among their writings are the books of the *Old Testament*, a national library of tradition, history, proverbs, songs, and prophecy, written to glorify Jehovah and to show the plan of his dealings with men. The *New Testament*, composed in Greek by Hebrew writers, tells the story of Christ and his early followers and explains his teachings. Jo-se'phus, born 37 A.D., wrote *Jewish Antiquities*, a history of his people from the creation of

[1] Exodus xx. 4 f.; xxiv. 14.

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the world, and *The Jewish War*, including a detailed account of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.[1] Lastly, Jewish rabbis composed the *Tal'mud*, a collection of Hebrew laws and traditions with comments and explanations.

Greatest among the achievements of Syria, the Phoenicians brought many of the ideas and arts of the Orient to Europe, and the Hebrews gave the Europeans their religion.

III. The Medes and the Persians

26. Political History. — The story of the Syrians, just told, is an interruption of the political history of the Orient, for these people accomplished nothing remarkable in government. Let us again turn our attention to the great states.

Long after Nebuchadnezzar,[2] his city continued to be as it had been for a thousand years before him, the centre of Asiatic civilization. Its political power, on the other hand, soon declined. At his death the Medes ruled an empire extending westward to the Ha'lys River, and exercised lordship over the Persians, their near kinsmen on the south. But their empire was short-lived. When Cyrus the Great became king of Persia (553 B.C.) he threw off the Median yoke and soon made himself master of the entire empire. How he next subdued Lydia and the Asiatic Greeks will be told in a later chapter.[3] As Babylon had joined Lydia in the war, he marched against the city and took it by surprise, while Belshazzar, the king's son, was feasting with "a thousand of his lords."[4] This easy conquest gave Cyrus the whole Babylonian empire. He afterward added to his realm territory on the north and east.

In military genius Cyrus excelled all the earlier kings of Asia. He overcame his enemies by wise plans and rapid movements. A gracious conqueror, he treated his new subjects kindly. He spared Babylon and permitted the Jews to rebuild their holy city.[5] In him Asiatic

[1] § 315. [2] § 16. [3] Pt. II. ch. vii. § 100. [4] 538 B.C.; Daniel v. 1. [5] § 24.

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history takes a new and higher character. The Hamites of Egypt and the Semites of Chaldea and Babylonia had laid the foundations of civilization, and their kings had achieved great conquests. The Medes and Persians, however, were a branch of the more gifted Aryans,[1] who for the future were to control the destiny of the world. Their rule over western Asia was due to Cyrus, who bequeathed his generous principles to his successors, and whom after ages remembered as a good and great king.

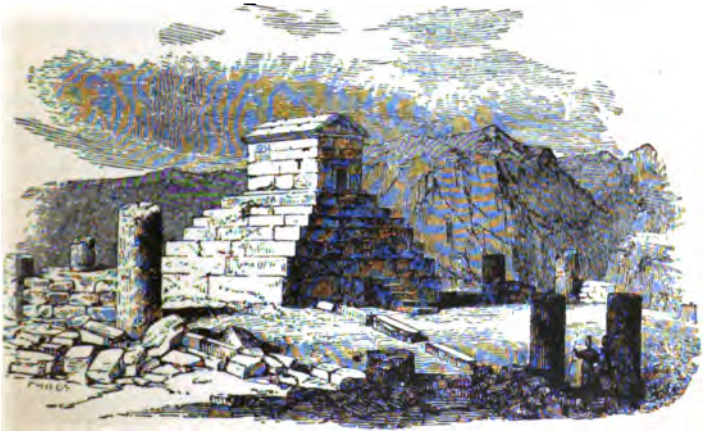
Cam-by'ses, son and successor of Cyrus, conquered Egypt. He was followed by *Da-ri'us* (522–485 B.C.), a distant kinsman, who gave the empire a thorough organization. He divided the whole area, with the exception of Persia, into twenty provinces, or sa'tra-pies, over which he appointed governors, termed satraps. Under the satraps were native rulers of cities or tribes. In addition to fixed gifts of produce for the support of the royal court and of the army, each satrapy paid a definite annual tribute of silver or gold, to which were added large indirect taxes and revenues from public property. It was necessary also for the subjects to support their native rulers as well as the satraps, and in time of war to perform military service. Darius built excellent roads from his capital, Susa, to the remotest satrapies, and introduced a postal system for carrying official letters. The system of provinces was carried out more thoroughly than had been the case under Assyria, and the governors were held more strictly under control; in these respects the Persian government was an improvement on that of Assyria. Darius was not only an organizer, but an able military leader. He was the first Asiatic king who attempted to make conquests in Europe.[2]

27. Civilization; Architecture. — Like the kings of Babylon and of Assyria, the Persian monarchs were builders, not of temples, for their God required no dwelling, but of palaces and tombs. Though in imitation of the Chaldeans they placed their buildings on high platforms, they used stone rather than brick; hence their works are

[1] § 2. [2] The story of this undertaking will be told in Pt. II. ch. vii.

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comparatively well preserved. They did not slavishly copy existing models, but blended the art of Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, and Greece. An early example of their architecture is the tomb of the great Cyrus. The building is at Pa-sar'ga-dae, the seat of his clan. It is a simple chamber "well preserved, but open and empty, on its base of seven retreating stages or high steps, all of solid blocks of white marble, surrounded by fragments of what was evidently a colonnade."[1]



TOMB OF CYRUS
(Pasargadae; from Fergusson)

Here the Persians laid the body of their king, covered with wax, for they thought it a sin to defile the holy air or earth by cremating or by burying the dead. Strange as it may seem, the priests, *ma'gi*, preferred to have their own bodies exposed, to be torn by birds and wild beasts.

For the foundation of his *palace* at Per-sep'o-lis, Darius erected a terraced platform of stone, mounted by beautifully sculptured stairways. On one part of the platform stood his dwelling, a large hall with a porch in front and rooms on the rear and sides. Near

[1] Ragozin, *Story of Media*, p. 300 f.

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by is the Hall of the Hundred Columns, for state and festive occasions. On the same platform other buildings of later kings repeat the plans of the two just mentioned. The walls of the palaces have disappeared; the pillared halls probably had none. The characteristic feature of all these buildings is the *column*, which in contrast with that of Egypt is slender and graceful, doubtless from Greek influence. Among the *reliefs* are lions, bulls, and monsters like those of Assyria, though better proportioned. Whereas earlier Persian art shows the king fighting with lions, later reliefs represent courtly and religious formalities. Through these changes we may trace the decay of the Persian dynasty under the corrupting influence of Oriental power. In science, and in all the arts, with the exception of architecture, sculpture, and the cutting of gems, the Persians accomplished nothing great. They were not workers, but warriors and rulers.

28. Religion. — The Persians worshipped one God, *A-hu'ra-Maz'da*, lord of light, revealed through his prophet, *Zor-o-as'ter*. "A great God is Ahura-Mazda; he has created the earth, he has created yonder heaven, he has created man, and all pleasant things for man, he has made Darius king, the only king of many."[1] He is wise and holy; he alone has majesty and power. At his bidding are many angels, including Health, Immortality, and Piety. His eternal enemy is *Ah'ri-man*, the spirit of darkness, leader of a host of demons. Though the evil one dares contend against Ahura-Mazda, he has neither wisdom nor strength, he is all impure and false. Those who, in opposition to the prince of demons, worship and obey the good God, gain immortality and the reward their character deserves, whereas the wicked fall into the pit of the demons. "Images and temples and altars they do not account it lawful to erect, nay, they even charge with folly those who do these things; and this, as it seems to me, because they do not account the gods to be in the likeness of men, as do the Hellenes.[2] But it is

[1] From an inscription.

[2] *I.e.*, the Greeks; § 33.

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their wont to sacrifice to Zeus (Ahura-Mazda) going up to the loftiest mountains, and the whole circle of the heaven they call Zeus; and they sacrifice to the Sun and the Moon and the Earth and to Fire and to the Winds."[1] Their holy book *A-ves'ta*, ascribed to Zoroaster, contains laws, rituals, prayers, and hymns. A considerable part of the work is still extant.

29. Morals. — The moral nature as well as the religion of the race was admirable. Especially among Oriental nations the enjoyment of power and wealth in easy, luxurious living weakens both body and mind, and corrupts the character. At first brave and hardy, a conquering race soon degenerates and falls a prey to warlike neighbors. This principle goes far toward explaining the rise and fall of Asiatic empires. The Persians, for instance, — strong, brave mountaineers, with simple habits and sound character, — easily overcame the decayed Babylonians and Assyrians. For a long time the conquerors retained their early virtues. They continued to educate their children "in three things only, — in riding, in shooting, and in speaking the truth."[2] Finally, however, they so declined that they were in turn subdued by a small army of invaders from Europe (333–330 B.C.).[3]

The greatest achievement of the Persians was to improve upon the political organization and the government of Assyria, and to bring Asia and Europe into close political relations.

IV. The Far East — India and China

30. India. — The Asiatic nations which we have thus far noticed lived near one another, and were closely connected in history. India and China, too, formed a group by themselves. Remote from the nations of the West, they influenced each other, but had little to do with the rest of the civilized world. The natives of India are of Aryan speech, whose ancestors came to their historical home in

[1] Herodotus i. 131. [2] Herodotus i. 136. [3] §§ 192–196.

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2000 B.C., or earlier, and gradually conquered and settled the whole of the country which they now occupy. The Hindoos, as this nation is called, are imaginative and intelligent. Early in their history they composed the thousand songs of the *Rig Ve'da*, which show their life to have been in many respects admirable. Later they produced epics, and still later laws, science, and philosophy. Their classic language, the Sanskrit, is studied by scholars for the sake of the literature as well as for the light it throws upon the kindred tongues of Europe.[1]

When they first came to India, they worshipped the powers of nature, as did all primitive Aryans. Their gods were nearly identical with those, for instance, of early Greece.[2] In time their beliefs and ceremonies became complex and philosophical. One of the most striking of their doctrines is the transmigration of souls. They believe that at the death of the body the soul always enters some other human being or animal that instant born. Thus passing from one body to another, the soul after complete growth and purification returns to the Universal Spirit, from which it originally came.

While the religious system was developing, the priests were becoming an hereditary class, who refused to admit laymen to their sacred order. Such an exclusive circle of persons we term a *caste*. Soon the kings, magistrates, and warriors made of themselves a second caste. The third caste was composed of common Aryans, whereas the natives, who were held in subjection, formed a fourth caste.[3]

Although the Hindoos created a brilliant civilization, they, like the Egyptians, became the slaves of ceremony, which controlled every action of their lives. The caste system, too, weighed heavily upon the masses, especially upon the Sudras, who in some regions formed the great majority of people, and yet were excluded from all social

[1] p. 3, n. 1. [2] § 41 f.

[3] The names of the castes in their order are (1) Brah'mans, (2) Ksha-tri'yas, (3) Vais'yas, (4) Su'dras.

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and religious benefits. The aim of *Buddha*, born about 557 B.C., was to remedy this evil condition; "and the truth which he discovered and preached to humanity was that the salvation of man lay, not in sacrifices and ceremonials, nor in penances, but in moral culture and holy life, in charity, forgiveness, and love."[1] He could not abolish the caste system, yet he did much to help the lower classes. Apostles preached his religion in China, Japan, and other Eastern countries. Buddhism died out in the land of its birth, but it is still the religion of a third of the human race.

31. China; Ancient Civilization (to 225 B.C.). — The civilization of China is probably as old as that of the Hindoos. More than two thousand years before Christ a tribe of Turanian, or yellow, people invaded the country from the west, perhaps from the neighborhood of Babylon. In the course of centuries they conquered the natives, founded an empire, and became the nation whom we know as Chinese. From the earliest times they tilled the soil, raised flax, and made silk from the cocoon of the worms which feed on mulberry leaves. The simple picture-alphabet which they probably brought with them into the country gradually developed into a complex system of writing with a letter for every word or idea. Their ancient literature, comprising philosophy, history, annals, poetry, and ceremonies, fills nine books of classics, a knowledge of which still constitutes a liberal education. In the beginning they, like the Aryans, worshipped the powers of nature; and their empire was a loose group of states with divisions and subdivisions, ruled by lords of various ranks. But under the Chow dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) religion, morals, and the empire declined. "The world had fallen into decay, and right principles had disappeared. Perverse discourses and oppressive deeds waxed rife. Ministers murdered their rulers, and sons their fathers."[2] *Con-fu'ci-us*, who lived in this age of anarchy, attempted to remedy the evil by leading the people back to the good customs

[1] Dutt, *Civilization of India*, p. 38.

[2] From Mencius, a Chinese philosopher.

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and beliefs of the ancestors. "Walk in the trodden paths" is the sum of his teachings. Although in his lifetime he met with little respect or success, reverence for him afterward increased; Confucianism became a religion, whose author all Chinese now regard as the wisest and best of men.

In his time grew up another religion or philosophy, termed *Ta'o-ism*, which taught compassion, economy, and humility. Buddhism, introduced in the first century of our era, is the religion of the masses, whereas scholars prefer the two native systems. All three forms of religion, however, are now overgrown with superstitions.

32. Modern Civilization (since 225 B.C.). — In spite of Confucius, the empire continued to decline till in 225 B.C. Chi Hwang-ti, a man of remarkable genius, became emperor. He abolished the loose system of states and established a strongly centralized government. On his northern frontier he built the Great Wall, sixteen hundred miles in length, to protect the empire from barbarians. In order to compel his people, especially the scholars, to break with traditions and adapt themselves to his new ideas, he decreed that all books, excepting those on medicine and agriculture, should be burned. Copies, however, were saved by stealth, and eventually the government and learning came to work in harmony. Provinces, divided into departments and districts, took the place of the states. At the head of each territorial division stood a magistrate assisted by officials of various grades. About the beginning of our era all these offices, constituting the civil service, were thrown open to those who passed competitive examinations in the nine classics. The higher the offices, the severer were the tests. As this system is still in force, young boys begin the study of the classics to prepare themselves for public service, and some continue their studies to old age. Women, on the other hand, have little intellectual education.

The Chinese have shown not only capacity for learning, but also

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a high degree of *originality*. They invented the art of printing as early as the sixth century A.D., and gunpowder still earlier. It is believed that their sailors used the compass long before it was known to Europeans. They excel, too, in carving ornamental and useful articles of wood, ivory, and horn. With their natural gifts it is unfortunate that they devote their minds almost exclusively to a dead language and literature, and to a slavish imitation of the past. This disposition prevents further scientific progress. Priding themselves on inherited wisdom, they refuse to accept the ideas and inventions of foreigners, and even dislike to have anything to do with outsiders. In these respects China of to-day resembles the Egypt of Rameses II.

V. Summary of Oriental History

The Hamites of Egypt produced the earliest civilization of the world. The Semites, who lived in western Asia and were nearly as ancient as the Hamites, made a great advance over the older people in the sciences, in some of the useful arts, in government, and political organization. By bringing Europe and Asia into commercial relations, they gave the younger continent its first lessons in civilization. They are especially noted for their religious character; it is a remarkable fact that they have produced three of the great religions, — Ju'da-ism, Christianity, and Mo-ham'me-dan-ism. The Persians, who were of Aryan speech, improved upon the Semites in government, and brought Europe and Asia into close political relations, which proved to be an invaluable service to the younger continent; for from that time to this the Europeans and their colonies have controlled the civilized world.

The foremost nations of Europe in ancient times were the Greeks and the Romans. Ancient history has to do (1) with the Orient, (2) with Greece and Rome, and with the extension of their civilizing influence over the countries of the Mediterranean Sea.

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Topics for Reading

I. Babylonia and Assyria, (1) Civilization. — Decoudray, *History of Ancient Civilization*, ch. iii (London, 1889); (2) Life. — Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chs. xi–xx; Sayce, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, especially chs. ii, iii, v (N.Y., 1899).

II. Media and Persia. — Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. vi.

III. The Hindoos. — Hunter, *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, chs. ii, iii (Oxford, 1892).

IV. Confucius. — Douglas, *China*, pp. 11–14.

V. The Influence of the Orient on Greece. — Holm, *History of Greece*, i. ch. ix; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 76–79.

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VALLEY OF THE STYX IN ARCADIA

PART II

GREECE

CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

Mountains and Coasts. — While Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, and ia in succession rose and fell, a little nation in Europe was nore for the improvement of the world than were all the mpires of the East. These people were Greeks, or as they hemselves, Hel-le'nes. In the beginning of their history, or Hel'las, was the small peninsula which extends from stern Europe into the Mediterranean Sea.[1] In travelling Greece or in looking at a map of it we notice that the

[1] § 57.

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country is *mountainous*. Ridges so high as to be almost impassable divide the peninsula into narrow valleys, leaving here and there a little plain. Life among these mountains made the Greeks hardy, vigorous, and brave, — ready to fight and die for home and freedom. And the people of each valley or narrow plain, seeing little of their neighbors, were content to live alone in the enjoyment of complete independence. In other words, the mountains prevented the growth of large states.

Another striking feature of the country is its *great number of gulfs and bays*, on which the Greeks could found commercial cities. For this reason many of them began in the earliest times to build ships and send out colonies or engage in trade with foreign lands. The knowledge of the world which they gained in these occupations made them intelligent and broad minded; they were eager to adopt the ideas and inventions of strangers and to improve their own homes, their society, and their laws. Fortunately for the Greeks, far more of their harbors were on the eastern than on the western coast; it was easy, therefore, for traders from the Orient to find on the nearest shores places where they could land and display their useful wares and arts. It was from these traders that the Greeks while mere barbarians received their first lessons in civilization (§ 22).

34. Northern Greece. — Looking more carefully at the map, we find the peninsula divided by arms of the sea into three regions, northern Greece, central Greece, and Pel-o-pon-nese'. Northern Greece comprises two countries, — E-pei'rus and Thes'sa-ly, — separated by the high Pindus range. *Epeirus* is largely a highland crossed from north to south by mountain chains. The principal town was Do-do'na, where the Greeks believed Zeus, their supreme god, revealed his thoughts to men in the rustling of the oak leaves. A shrine of this sort, at which inquirers may in any way learn the will of a god, is called an oracle; and the same word is used to signify the god's utterance.

Unlike Epeirus, *Thessaly* is a plain, the largest in Greece, nearly

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THE VALE OF TEMPE
(Thessaly.)

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surrounded by mountains. On the north the Cam-bu'ni-an range rises like a huge wall to defend Greece against the attack of foreigners. This chain reaches its height in Mount O-lym'pus, near the sea, the loftiest peak on the peninsula. The Greeks imagined it the abode of Zeus and of the other great gods. Near Olympus, in the range which extends along the east coast of Thessaly, is Mount Os'sa. Homer, an early poet of Greece, tells us that the two tallest men on earth once "threatened to raise even against the mortals in Olympus the din of stormy war. They strove to pile Ossa on Olympus, and on Ossa Pe'li-on, with the trembling forest leaves, that there might be a pathway to the sky."[1] Between Olympus and Ossa is the beautiful Vale of Tem'pe, rich in foliage, the main pass into Greece from the country on the north. Through this valley flows the Pe-nei'us River, which drains the great inland plain.

In ancient times the basin of the Peneius furnished excellent pasturage; the great lords of the country accordingly reared herds of horses, that they might be able in war to lead hundreds of mounted servants to battle. In southeastern Thessaly, nearly surrounded by land, is the Pa-ga-sae'an Gulf, on which stood the ancient trading city of I-ol'cos, famed in myth. In course of time greater cities grew up in the plain; but both E-pei'rots and Thessalians preferred country life; they had little trade or skilled industry; in education and in the refinements of life they lagged behind the commercial states of Greece.

35. Central Greece; the Less Civilized Countries. — South of Thessaly and Epeirus is central Greece, a long narrow region extending east and west. It is more mountainous than northern Greece, and is well supplied with harbors along the immense stretch of coast. This district comprises seven or eight small countries. *Ae-to'li-a* and *Lo'cris* are especially rugged lands whose inhabitants long remained barbarous. After the commercial cities of eastern and

[1] Otos and Ephialtes; *Odyssey*, xi. 307 ff.

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southern Greece had reached the height of their civilization, the Aetolians and Locrians still carried weapons in their daily life, as now do the American Indians; they fought continually among themselves, and robbed or murdered all whom they found weak or defenceless. Some of them spoke a language strange to the other Greeks and ate raw meat. They continued in this low condition till civilized men visited them and gave them better ideas of life. West of Aetolia is *A-car-na'ni-a*, a land of lakes and harbors, but with high, steep shores. The colonists who came hither in early time from the eastern coast taught the natives useful arts. Hence this country made greater progress in civilization than did Aetolia or Locris. *Pho'cis*, which divides Locris into two sections, lies partly in the valley of the Ce-phis'sus River, and partly in the rugged district about Mount Par-nas'sus. Below the mountain on the south, in the city of Del'phi, was the celebrated oracle of Apollo.

The Phocians, too, were more civilized than the Aetolians or the Locrians. In the valleys and plains were thrifty lords and busy peasants; on the mountain sides the shepherd pastured his flocks. Others engaged in commerce. Cri'sa, not far from a gulf of the same name, was a prosperous trading city till it was destroyed about 590 B.C.

36. The More Civilized Countries. — *Boe-o'ti-a*, east of Phocis, has two important streams, — the Ae-so'pus and the Cephissus. The former empties into the sea; the latter into Lake Co-pa'is, which has no outlet. The land about the lake is flat and very productive; its moisture fills the air with fog. Some witty neighbors of the Boeotians remarked that the dull sky and excessive beef-eating made these people stupid; but in fact they were second in intelligence and in enterprise among the states of central Greece. Long before the dawn of history Or-chom'e-nus was a wealthy, thriving city; later Thebes became the capital of all Boeotia. Several other cities are famous in history.

Mount Ci-thae'ron separates Boeotia from *At'ti-ca*, a peninsula

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which forms the eastern end of central Greece. In the northeast of Attica, overlooking the Plain of Mar'a-thon, is Mount Pen-tel'i-cus, full of brilliant white marble; and south of Pentelicus is the range of Hy-met'tus, still renowned for its honey-bees. The central region is a plain about two small streams, — the Cephissus and the I-lis'sus, which unite before reaching the sea. A third plain lies round the city of E-leu'sis on the northwest coast. Attica is for the most part a rugged country, whose thin soil, fit only for grazing, compelled her people to make the best of the little they had. But the air is remarkably clear and the landscapes are beautiful, tempting the imagination. All the Greeks indeed were near the sea, but Attica was especially favored by a long coast-line which invited to commerce. These surroundings helped make the people enterprising and intelligent, refined their tastes, and awakened in them a love for the beautiful. Athens, the capital, became in time the foremost city of the world in civilization.

The traveller who journeys by land from Athens to Peloponnese passes through *Meg'a-ris*, a little country which lies in the broader part of the Isthmus of Corinth. As the soil is even more barren than that of Attica, the people supported themselves by rearing sheep and by making coarse woollens and heavy pottery for exportation. With a harbor on each side of the Isthmus they were well equipped for commerce; and their leading city, Megara, might have become a great centre of trade, had she not been overshadowed by powerful neighbors.

37. Peloponnese; the Less Civilized Countries. — Peloponnese — "Isle of Pe'lops," a mythical hero — is a massive peninsula with a great gulf on the east coast and two on the south. The central region is *Ar-ca'di-a*, "the Switzerland of Greece," a plateau above which tower lofty mountain ranges. Among the mountains are fruitful plains and valleys, each of which was the domain of a tribe or a city. The Arcadians lived in the simple, homely style of mountaineers. Master and slaves ate their pork and barley cake

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together, and mixed their wine in a common bowl. Hardy and warlike, the Arcadian freemen were equally ready to fight for their homes and to serve foreign states for pay.

The northern slope of the plateau, with a narrow border of coast plain, is *A-chae'a*. Divided among twelve independent cities, this country remained unimportant till late in history.[1] E'lis comprises the western slope and the broad rich plain along the coast. Its most notable city is O-lym'pi-a, where the Greeks celebrated the greatest of their national festivals, and athletes from all Hellas contended in the games. The site is now strewn with the ruins of temples (§ 69).

38. The More Civilized Countries. — *Corinth*, near the Isthmus, was one of the greatest commercial cities of Hellas. Her lofty citadel commanded the Isthmus, and by means of her three harbors, two on the Saron'ic Gulf and one on the Corinthian, she could trade equally well with the East and with the West. Though she had a large navy, her narrow territory prevented her from becoming a great power. *Ar'go-lis* is chiefly the mountainous peninsula on the east of Peloponnese; to it belonged also in early time a strip of coast land extending southward to Cape Ma'le-a. The chief cities were along the valley which reaches northward from the head of the Ar-gol'ic Gulf. Tir'yns, near the gulf, is the oldest city, so far as we know, on the continent of Europe. My-ce'nae,



GALLERY IN THE WALL OF TIRYNS

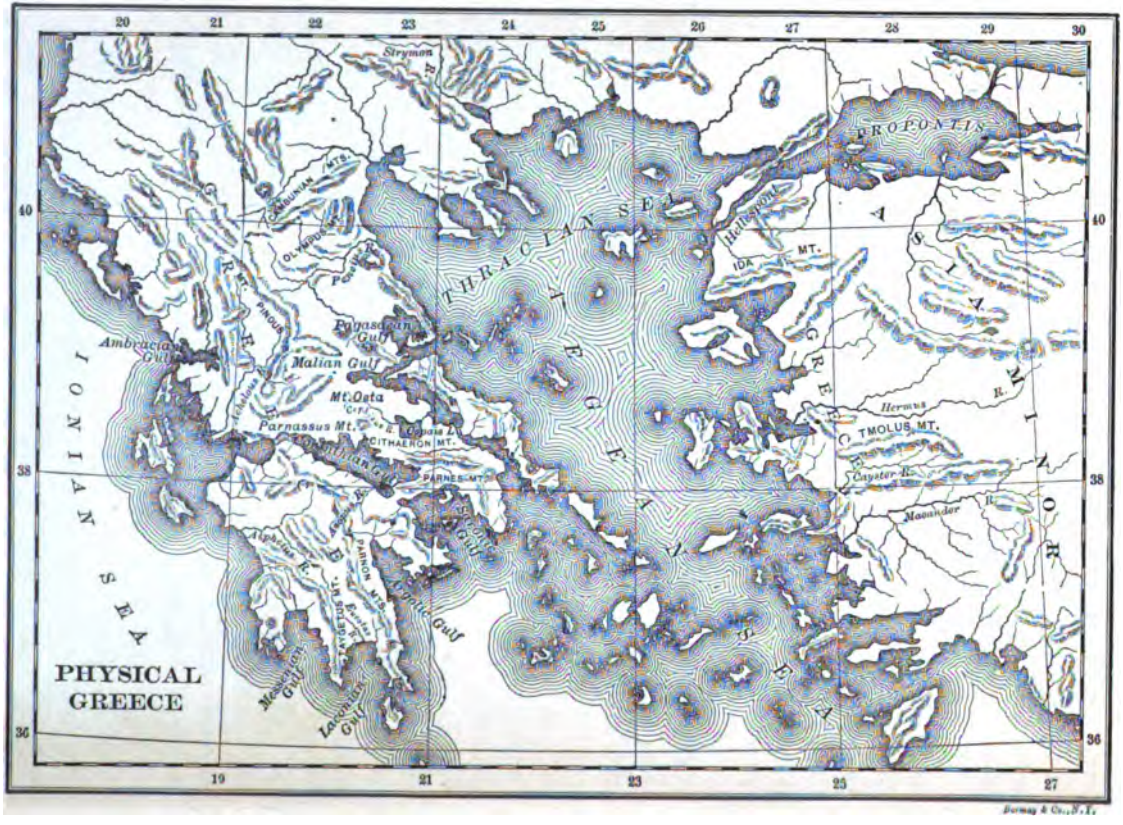
[1] § 201.

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farther from the gulf, outgrew Tiryns and became the head of a great state. Like the older city, it has been for ages in ruins. Even before the dawn of history it had declined, and Argos had taken its place as the head of Argolis.

The great rival of Argos was Sparta, chief city of *La-co'ni-a.* In the beginning this country occupied the fertile basin of the Eu-ro'tas River, between the ranges of Ta-yg'e-tus and Par'non; later the coast land east of Mount Parnon was added to it.[1] The people of the country were the first in the world to have a well-equipped and well-disciplined army. In time of danger, therefore, all the Hellenes looked to them for protection. Sparta,[2] "low-lying among the caverned hills," was but a group of villages. Unlike most Greek cities, it was wholly without fortifications; the ranks of brave warriors were its walls.

West of Mount Taygetus is the hilly but fruitful country of Mes-se'ni-a. Near the centre of this country is Mount I-tho'me, whose summit furnished an excellent site for a fortress.

39. Climate and Products; Summary. — The greatest length of the Greek peninsula is about two hundred and fifty miles, and its greatest breadth is a hundred and eighty; it is smaller than Scotland and about the size of the state of Maine. And yet within these narrow limits the climate, ranging from temperate to semi-tropical, fosters a great variety of products. In the forests of the north are nearly all kinds of European trees; southern Thessaly produces rice and cotton; olives flourish in Attica; and in Peloponnese lemons, oranges, and date-palms thrive. Though wheat grows in the few fertile lowlands, most of the ground is too stony and sterile for anything but pasturage, or at best for the growth of barley. But the poor soil compelled the Greeks to form moderate habits of life; the mild climate and gentle changes of season rendered them happy; the bracing air stimulated thought; and the bare, sharply pointed mountains, while repelling the senses, — which call for richness

[1] § 93. [2] Sparta is the name of the city, Lacedaemon of the state.

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of grass and foliage, — awakened in the soul that love of intellectual beauty which lifts the Greeks above all other people. Finally the diversity of climate, soil, and products combined with other favoring influences to create a nation famous for its men of genius in literature, science, art, and statesmanship.

Topic for Reading

The Influence of Geography on the Character of the Greeks. — Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. i. ch. i; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. ch. i; Oman, *History of Greece*, ch. i.



SO-CALLED TREASURY OF ATREUS

(Mycenae; in reality the tomb of a prehistoric king of Mycenae)

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ROYAL TOMBS AT MYCENAE

CHAPTER II

THE PREHISTORIC AGE (TO 700 B.C.) — RELIGION AND MYTH

40. Future Life. — When in the earliest times the Greeks began to think about themselves, they tried to explain sleep and death. While a man was resting in slumber they supposed his second self, a shadowy form of the body, was attending to its routine duties or perhaps experiencing strange adventures in dream life. To them death was an eternal sleep. The body decayed; but the second self, or soul, abiding in the grave, ate, drank, and used the tools or enjoyed the luxuries which had been his in life. As he expected his living kinsmen to supply him with food and drink, he severely punished those who neglected this duty, but protected and blessed all his relatives who at proper times and with fitting ceremonies brought him the customary offerings. For these reasons the Greeks contin-

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ued to sacrifice to the dead even until the introduction of Christianity. The kings of the early Greek cities, as Mycenae and Orchomenus, built for themselves magnificent tombs, some of which are still standing. Here they were buried with a vast quantity of jewels and golden ornaments, with golden masks on their faces and diadems on their heads, with swords, vases, and little idols. Some of their slaves were buried with them to serve them in the world of the dead.

In course of time the Greeks began to imagine a place — the realm of the god *Ha'des* — beneath the earth, whither all souls went after leaving the body, there to pass a joyless, dreamlike eternity. Cha'ron, the divine boatman, ferried the souls across the Styx River to the home of the dead, where Cer'be-rus, a three-headed dog, keeping watch at the gate, allowed all to enter but none to depart. Still later the idea of a judgment arose; three judges of the souls below distributed rewards and punishments according to the deeds done in the body.

But the dark realm of Hades did not long remain the only abode of souls. A world of future happiness gradually dawned upon the mind of the Greeks. This was *E-lys'i-um*, "at the end of the earth, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill west to blow cool on men."[1] The early Greeks imagined that a few heroes only, the especial favorites of the gods, came while still living to this home of the blest, but in time the idea arose that it was open to the souls of all the good.

41. The Gods. — In the childhood of their race the Greeks were thinking not only about themselves, but about the world in which they lived. They imagined that all moving and growing objects were living persons with souls like their own. The spirits of those objects which were great or strong enough to help or to injure them they thought of as gods, whose favor they ought to win by prayer and sacrifice. At first they thought of a few only of these deities as

[1] Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 563 ff. Compare the religion of the Egyptians, § 11.

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possessing human form and human character. Such a god was supposed to live in his appropriate object as a man lives in a house. But in time they came to believe that all deities were like men, that they differed from human beings simply in their greater stature and strength and in their immortality. Homer sometimes represents a god as wounded by a man in battle. In his belief heaven was very near to earth. "Yea, and the gods in the likeness of strangers from far countries put on all manner of shapes, and wander through the cities, beholding the violence and the righteousness of men."[1] As the gods were only magnified men, they had both good and evil qualities; and the influences of religion were both moral and immoral.

42. The Twelve Gods of Olympus. — The greatest deity was Zeus, "father of gods and men." After dethroning his father Cron'os and putting down all opposition, he reigned supreme over the whole world. Bestowing the ocean as a kingdom upon his brother Po-sei'-don, and the region beneath the earth upon Hades, another brother, he retained the sky and earth for his own dominion. On the top of snow-capped Olympus he dwelt with his brothers, sisters, and children. Twelve with himself made up the great Olympic council. It included —

Zeus, father of gods and men.
Poseidon, god of the sea.
A'res, god of war.
A-pol'lo, the ideal of manly beauty, god of light, of the bow and arrows, of music and medicine.
Her'mes, messenger of the gods and patron of commerce.
He-phaes'tus, god of fire and of the forge.
He'ra, wife of Zeus, guardian of women and of marriage.
Pal'las A-the'na, who sprang full grown and clad in armor from the head of Zeus, patron of war, peace, and wisdom, especially of skilled labor.
Aph-ro-di'te, goddess of love and beauty.
Ar'te-mis, goddess of the chase, a modest maiden, who protected girls.
Hes'ti-a, goddess of the family hearth and dwelling.
De-me'ter, patroness of agriculture and of civilization.

[1] *Odyssey*, xvii. 485 ff.

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Many lesser gods attended upon these great divinities; many, too, inhabited the earth, sea, and air and had no access to Olympus.

43. The Men before the Flood. — For a time the gods alone existed; and when men came into being they lived a happy life free from all care and pain till curiosity prompted Pan-do'ra, a fair woman, to uncover a box which contained sorrow, pain, diseases, vice, and all manner of mischiefs. These evils flew abroad among men to plague them forever.

Gradually the human race became so wicked that Zeus resolved to destroy it by a *flood*. Accordingly he caused the rain to pour down till the waters covered the whole earth excepting the peaks of the highest mountains. One man alone, Deu-ca'li-on by name, warned by his father Pro-me'theus, — "Forethought," — took refuge with Pyr'rha, his wife, in an ark. After floating nine days over the water, the ark rested on the summit of Mount Parnassus. Then, when the flood had receded, Deucalion and Pyrrha stepped forth upon dry land. In their loneliness they cried out to Zeus for companions; and the great god in pity sent Hermes to tell them they should cast behind them the bones of their mother. Rightly guessing the meaning of this strange command, they threw stones behind them; and those which Deucalion threw became men, whereas women sprang forth from those cast by his wife.

44. The Four Hellenic Races. — Deucalion and Pyrrha then went to Thessaly, where they had two sons, Hellen and Am-phic'ty-on. Hellen became the father of Ae'o-lus, Do'rus, and Xu'thus. To the last named were born A-chae'us and I'on. Aeolus, Dorus, Achaeus, and Ion became *kings* — doubtless in the earliest form of the myth, *fathers* — of the four Hellenic races: Ae-o'li-ans, Dorians, Achaeans, and Ionians. From their home in Thessaly and Boeotia the Aeolians colonized Lesbos and the adjacent coast of Asia Minor. From Attica, "the most ancient Ionian land," colonists occupied the central Aegean islands, and that part of the coast of Asia Minor afterward named Ionia. The Dorians, after migrating from Thessaly to

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Doris in central Greece, and thence to Peloponnese, there founded three great states, — Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. From Peloponnese some of them occupied the islands and east coast of the Aegean Sea, south of the Ionians. The Achaeans at first inhabited a large part of Peloponnese, but were afterward crowded by the Dorian invaders into the narrow strip of coast land known as Achaea. Such was in fact the location of these four great races as early as 1000 B.C.

45. The Heroes of Argolis. — The Greeks as easily invented myths to explain the origin and early growth of their cities. They imagined that, in time long past, heroes, the sons or near descendants of the gods, lived on earth. Taller, stronger, and braver than men, the heroes protected their communities from savage beasts and robbers, and performed great deeds in war. Some of them founded cities, or became the ancestors of tribes or nations. Though all the races, tribes, cities, and villages had their heroes, we shall notice a few only of those that became of national importance.

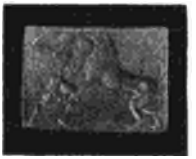


PERSEUS CUTTING OFF MEDUSA'S HEAD
(A Metope from Selinus; about 600 B.C.)

Ae-gyp'tus and *Da'na-us* were brothers born in the Nile Valley. The former had fifty sons, the latter as many daughters. To avoid giving his daughters in marriage to their cousins, Danaus fled with his dear ones across the sea to Argos. After becoming king of the city he made the whole country fruitful by irrigation. Probably his daughters represent the springs of Argolis, and his own close kinship with Aegyptus was invented to show how the Hellenes got much of their civilization from Aegypt.

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Proe'tus, great-grandson of Danaus, founded Tiryns; and Cyclo'pes, one-eyed giants from Lycia, surrounded it with huge walls. This mighty king gained control of the country as far as Corinth. *Per'seus*, another descendant of Danaus, was a strong, brave hero. In his day lived the Gor'gons, monstrous women whose heads were covered with writhing snakes instead of hair. Any one who dared look a Gorgon in the face was instantly changed to stone. Commanded to kill Me-du'sa, the most frightful of these monsters, Perseus found her after great toil and careful searching, and cut off her head. Though he met with many other dangers, his strength and courage overcame them all. Becoming king of Tiryns, he founded Mycenae, a much larger city, on a hill between two overhanging mountains. It remained the chief city of Peloponnese till Argos came to surpass it in power.



(1)



(2)



(3)

ENGRAVED GEMS FROM MYCENAE

(1) Fight with a lion. (2) Combat of four warriors. (3) Women worshipping — the seated figure is probably a goddess.

Alc-me'ne, a granddaughter of Perseus, while she was in exile at Thebes bore to Zeus a son named *Her'a-cles*, who became the greatest of heroes. Though Zeus had planned that this beloved son should rule over all his neighbors, jealous Hera compelled him to pass a toilsome life in fighting monsters at the bidding of his cowardly cousin Eu-rys'theus, king of Mycenae. Twelve great labors this weak master commanded him to perform, all of them full of danger and calling for the strength of a giant. In his search for the

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monsters to be slain he had to wander over nearly the whole world of the ancients; he even descended to the home of the dead to bring forth the watch-dog Cerberus. But when he had ended his career of glorious toil, Zeus called him up to Olympus to dwell forever in joy among the deathless gods. In this way virtue received its reward.

46. The Return of the Heracleidae; Lycurgus. — For three generations the Her-a-clei'dae — descendants of Heracles — remained in exile, deprived of their inherited right to the throne of Argos. Then it came about that the Dorians, who at that time dwelt in Doris, a mountainous little country in central Greece, chose the hero's great-grandsons, Tem'e-nus, Cres-phon'tes, and Ar-is-to-de'mus, to lead them in an invasion of Peloponnese. In a single battle they conquered the whole peninsula. Elis they gave to their Aetolian guide; Temenus received Argos as his kingdom; Cresphontes was given fertile Messenia; and as Aristodemus had died on the way, his twin sons, Eu-rys'the-nes and Pro'cles, became the first kings of Laconia. For this reason Laconia always had two kings, one from the family of Eurysthenes, the other from that of Procles. Thus were founded in Peloponnese three great Dorian states, each ruled by Heracleid kings.

Argos gained in prosperity; but Sparta, chief city of Laconia, was full of confusion and lawlessness, till *Ly-cur'gus*, a member of one of the royal families, came to have charge of affairs. By establishing good laws and a severe military training for all the Spartans, he not only reduced the state to order but made it the most powerful in Greece. Accordingly, when he died, his fellow-citizens built a temple in which they continued to worship him as a god.

47. The Heroes of Thebes. — Among the mythical heroes of Thebes, another great city of Greece, was *Cad'mus*, — by birth a Phoenician, who wandered westward in search of his sister Eu-ro'pa, whom Zeus had stolen away. At the command of Apollo he gave up the search, and following a cow into Boeotia, he founded the city of

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Thebes on an elevated spot where she lay down. First, however, he sowed the ground with dragon's teeth, from which armed men sprang forth. They fought and killed one another till but five were left; these became the heads of the five noble families of Thebes. Some generations later a curse of the gods drove the descendants of Cadmus to commit a fearful sin which well-nigh ruined the family. *Oed'i-pus* unwittingly married his mother, queen Jo-cas'ta. When she discovered who her husband was, the miserable queen hanged herself; and king Oedipus, after tearing out both his eyes, was forced into exile by his unfeeling subjects. In working out further the purpose of the wrathful gods, his sons E-te'o-cles and Pol-y-nei'-ces, remaining in the city, quarrelled violently. Polyneices, driven into exile, took refuge with A-dras'tus, king of Argos, who called the mightiest heroes of his country to aid in restoring the fugitive. *Seven chiefs* with their followers appeared before Thebes, "seven leaders against seven gates arrayed, equal against equal foes."[1] From the citadel the inhabitants saw about the walls nothing but gleaming shields and spears, nothing they heard but the shouts of foes and the clanging of arms. Already the foremost assailant stood on the walls ready to shout victory, when Zeus with a thunderbolt dashed him down. The two brothers killed each other in single combat. The wave of war rolled back, and Thebes was free to celebrate her deliverance in dances and in thank-offerings to the gods. Ten years afterward the sons of the Seven led another army against Thebes, and after taking it, placed the son of Polyneices upon the throne.

48. The Heroes of Athens. — Athens, too, had her heroes. *Ce'crops*, half man, half serpent, a monster born of the soil, was the founder and first king of the city on the A-crop'o-lis. This was a high, steep hill about four miles from the coast.[2] He named the settlement

[1] Sophocles, *Antigone*.

[2] An acropolis is a fortified hilltop. The most famous acropolis in Greece is that at Athens.

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Cecropia, after himself; and he built eleven other cities in Attica, gathering the people within the walls to protect them from pirates and from the hostile Boeotians. In his reign Athena and Poseidon strove for the possession of Cecropia; and as the goddess won the contest, she called the city Athens and the people Athenians, after her own name. Abiding henceforth on the Acropolis, she remained the chief deity and guardian of the state.

These events took place before the flood. Afterward E-rech'theus became king. He was a second Cecrops, wholly a serpent whom the bounteous earth produced, and whom, when young, Athena cared for in her beautiful shrine. Thenceforth the Athenians worshipped him along with Athena in the E-rech-thei'um, the most ancient of their temples.

Many years afterward lived *The'seus*, a descendant of Erechtheus. He was an athlete second only to Heracles in strength and valor. In his youth he won fame by killing robbers and monsters. Up to his time the Athenians had been paying a tribute of human beings to King Mi'nos of Crete, who wielded a great naval power.[1] Every nine years they sent him seven youths and seven maidens as a sacrifice to Min'o-taur, a monstrous bull kept in the Lab'y-rinth. Theseus, however, accompanied one of these gloomy embassies to Cnos'sus in Crete; and after killing the monster, escaped from the intricate windings of the Labyrinth by following a thread given him by A-ri-ad'ne, daughter of Minos. When, after his return to Athens, he became king of the



"THESEUS"
(From the east pediment of the Parthenon)

[1] § 22.

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city, he planned the union of all the towns of Attica in one great state. Going about the country, he persuaded the people to give up the independence of their towns that all might become citizens of Athens. They continued to live on their farms or in their towns and villages, but all learned to look upon Athens as their only city, the seat of their government.

49. The Voyage of the Argonauts. — Sometimes heroes from several cities joined in national undertakings. Such an expedition was the voyage of the Ar'go-nauts in search of the golden fleece. Ja'son, heir to the throne of Iolcos in Thessaly, grew up in exile in a cave on Mount Pelion. There a wise Cen'taur[1] cared for him and taught him medicine. But at the age of twenty he returned to Iolcos to demand his rights of the reigning king, Pelias, his father's step-brother. The deceitful ruler promised everything, if Jason would but bring from Col'chis the golden fleece of a ram which years before had carried off two children of the royal household; for with the return of the fleece the gods, he thought, would allay a pestilence then raging among the people. In answer to Jason's call heroes from all Greece gathered to man the *Argo* for a voyage to Colchis. Fifty Argonauts — sailors of the Argo — struck the water with their oars, "and in their rapid hands the rowing sped untiringly."[2] Many troubles they had with the natives of the coasts along which they steered their way.

When the heroes reached Colchis, Ae-e'tes, king of the country, promised them the golden fleece if Jason should plough a piece of land with fire-breathing bulls and sow it with dragons' teeth. The king's daughter Me-dei'a, a sorceress, showed the hero how to do these deeds without harm to himself; and as the king failed to keep his word, she helped the stranger steal the fleece from the cave where it hung, and followed him aboard the ship to become his wife. On their way home the Argonauts wandered far and wide over the

[1] A Centaur was an imaginary being with the head and arms of a man and the body and feet of a horse.

[2] Pindar, *Pythian Ode*, iv.

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waters of the earth. This mythical voyage furnished the Greeks with subjects for songs and dramas.[1]

50. The Trojan War. — The most famous of heroic undertakings was the Trojan War. Helen, the wife of Men-e-la'üs, king of Lacedaemon, was the fairest and most accomplished woman in Hellas. Most of the Grecian kings had sued for her hand; but when Menelaüs won the prize, they bound themselves to uphold his right to her. Now it chanced that Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, paid a visit to Menelaüs, and taking advantage of his host's confidence, he persuaded Helen to desert her husband and go with him to Troy. As Priam refused to give her up, the kings of Hellas, true to their oaths, joined Menelaüs in an attempt to recover her by force. In the harbor of Au'lis, on the Boeotian coast, gathered their ships — nearly twelve hundred in number. Ag-a-mem'non, king of Argos or Mycenae and brother of Menelaüs, was leader.

They landed near Troy, and nine years they besieged the city and harried the country and villages. Then A-chil'les, the most valiant hero in the army, and most dreaded by the enemy, quarrelled with Agamemnon over a captive maiden. The Greeks had assigned her to Achilles in his share of the spoil from a captured town, but Agamemnon had unjustly taken her from him. Withdrawing in anger to his tent, the impetuous youth refused to engage further in the war. Thereupon Zeus, as a favor to the mother of Achilles, gave victory to the besieged and sent countless woes upon the Greeks till Agamemnon was ready to acknowledge the wrong he had done and make ample amends for it. It was no gift, however, which induced Achilles to resume his part in the war, but the death of his dear companion Patroclus at the hands of Hector, the greatest of Trojan heroes. Eagerly Achilles put on the armor forged for him by Hephaestus, and mounted his chariot drawn by fierce steeds. His teeth gnashed in rage at the Trojans, his eyes blazed like fire, and the gleam of his shield reached the sky. He drove the host of Troy

[1] For instance, Pindar's *Fourth Pythian Ode* and Euripides' *Medeia*.

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before him like sheep, and many a renowned hero he slew with his own hand. Three times round the city he pursued the noble Hector as a dog chases a fawn. At last he killed the hero of Troy without mercy; the Greeks mutilated the body, and pitiless Achilles dragged it at his chariot wheels.

Some time afterward Achilles was himself slain; but crafty O-dys'seus, king of Ith'a-ca, contrived a plan of taking Troy by stratagem. He had the Greeks build a large wooden horse, in which they concealed a hundred brave heroes. Then Sinon, deserting to the Trojans, persuaded them to bring the horse into the city, pretending that this offering to Athena would give them dominion over the Greeks. In the night, after the horse had been dragged within the walls, the heroes left their hiding and opened the city gates to their friends outside. The Greeks then burned and sacked the city; they killed the men and took captive the women and children.



IDEAL STATUE OF HOMER
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

51. The Return from Troy. — The destruction of Troy did not end the woes of the Greeks. On their homeward way they met with many hardships, some even with death. Agamemnon reached home in safety, to be murdered by his queen Cly-tem-nes'tra, aided by the husband she had taken in the absence of the king. Odysseus, on the other hand, wandered far and wide, after he had sacked the citadel of Troy. Driven hither and thither over the

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sea by angry Poseidon, he saw many interesting countries and peoples, he underwent severe toils, and met with strange adventures. Reaching home at last, he slew the company of nobles, who, while suing for the hand of his faithful wife Pe-nel'o-pe, had long been living at his house and wasting his property.

52. Homer. — Most of the story of the siege of Troy is told in the *Il'i-ad*, — a long, narrative poem intended for recitation. Such a poem is called an epic. The *Od'ys-sey*, another epic, narrates the wanderings and return of the hero Odysseus. These stories are simple, graceful, and interesting.[1] Myth declares the author to have been Homer, a blind old poet, who wandered about from city to city chanting his beautiful verses to eager listeners. So great was his reputation that seven cities boasted of being his birthplace. Although some still assert that the author was a person named Homer, the best scholars now agree that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are the work of several Aeolian and Ionian poets who lived in the period from 1000 to 700 B.C., and that the *Iliad* is the older by about a century.

These poems tell us much of the life and character of the Ionians of that age. Although "Homer's" stories are myths, the manners and customs he describes are those of his own time and country.

53. Social Life of the Ionians (1000–700 B.C.). — Among the Ionians of Homer's time, family and kin were sacred, and under the care of "household" Zeus, whose altar was the hearth. Parent and child, brothers and cousins, united by the twofold bond of blood and religion, stood by one another in danger, for the state had not yet begun to protect the lives of the citizens. Zeus commanded men to be kind to wayfarers. A common form of welcome was — "Hail stranger, with us thou shalt be kindly entertained, and thereafter, when thou hast tasted meat, thou shalt tell us that whereof thou hast need."[2] Hospitality, love of kindred, freedom of women, and the

[1] Lang, Leaf, and Myers' *Iliad*, Butcher and Lang's *Odyssey*, and Palmer's *Odyssey* are simple translation into English prose.

[2] Homer, *Odyssey*, i. 123 f.

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gentle manners of home and of social life were the most admirable features of an age whose darker side appears in time of war. For then men sacked and burned cities, killed the warriors whom they captured, and enslaved the women and children. Piracy was respectable; the weak and homeless had no protection.

54. Property and Labor. — In time of peace the lords of the land kept their servants busy in the country planting orchards and vineyards, raising barley, or tending the herds, from which they drew most of their living. As there were few skilled workmen, they had to make at home nearly everything they needed in their daily life. Kings and queens worked along with their slaves. As there was yet no money, they bartered their produce, and reckoned values in cattle or in pounds of bronze, iron, or other metal. Although Phoenician traders supplied the rich with costly wares from the East, the Ionians were themselves building ships and beginning a trade which was soon to drive the vessels of Phoenicia from Greek waters (§ 22).

55. Government. — While the common people were working in the fields or were building walls, houses, and ships, the nobles lived in the city in the enjoyment of wealth and authority. The greater lords met in a council to advise and assist the king in all public business, and to provide for the interests of their class. The king, who was merely the first among the nobles, was general, priest, and judge. He led the army, prayed to the gods for the city's safety, and settled cases of private law. He did not try, however, to keep the peace or prevent murder, but allowed the families of his state to fight one another as much as they pleased. His power was by no means absolute, for not only did he respect the wishes of the council, but he brought all his important plans before the gathering of freemen. This assembly did not vote; the people merely shouted assent or showed disapproval by silence. They exercised far less influence on the king than did his noble advisers. In fact the council could sometimes carry on the government without either the king or the assembly, and it began to do so at Athens and in the other Ionian states

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THE GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENÆ

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about the middle of the eighth century B.C. It did not abolish these institutions, but it degraded the office of king to a mere priesthood, and rarely called the assembly together. In this manner the government ceased to be a monarchy, or rule of one, and became an aristocracy, or rule of "the best,"—that is, of the nobles.

56. Value of the Myths; the Prehistoric Age.—On the site of ancient Troy explorers have unearthed nine settlements belonging to as many different periods of history. The next to the oldest had been destroyed by burning,—probably long before the Greeks visited that region. But the Grecian colonists in Asia Minor must have waged many wars with the natives; and perhaps the memory of these conflicts, attaching itself to the burned city, gave rise to the story of the Trojan War. Other myths may have had a similar origin. Some of these tales may be partly true; but no one has yet found a satisfactory method of separating the facts from the fiction.

Although the myths are therefore of little direct service to history, they are valuable in showing how the Greeks regarded the distant past, and they form the groundwork of religion, literature, and art.

This remote period, concerning which the Greeks possessed abundant myths, but little or no real knowledge, we call prehistoric because the people of the time handed down no written history of themselves. It is clear that when they first came into the peninsula they were barbarous. From the fact that they were then grouped in tribes but as yet knew nothing of cities, this stage of their progress is called the *tribal age*. In course of time some of them, stimulated by the Orient, built cities and became civilized. This second stage is called the *Mycenaean age*, after Mycenae, the most famous city of the time. Our knowledge of the civilization of this age comes almost wholly from excavations. The *epic age* follows the Mycenaean, and is represented by the poems of Homer. These three ages make up the prehistoric period. From the works of their hands which still exist at Cnossus, Mycenae, Athens, and other ancient cities, as well as from the poetry of Homer composed in that far-off time,

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we may learn how the Greeks lived, but of individual persons and events of the age we know nothing. About the year 700 B.C. some cities began to keep lists of magistrates, and soon afterward to record



VESSELS AND IDOLS FROM MYCENAE

their laws. Though written material useful to the historian then began to accumulate, no one attempted to compose history till two centuries later. Nevertheless we may feel justified in saying that the historic age of Greece begins about 700 B.C.

Topics for Reading

I. The Worship of the Dead. — Fustel de Coulanges, *Ancient City*, chs. i, ii.

II. The Gods of Olympus. — Gladstone, *Homer* (primer), ch. vi; Seemann, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, pp. 27–86.

III. The Trojan War. — Seemann, pp. 276–297; Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome*, ch. xxvii.

IV. Romulus; Theseus. — Plutarch, *Romulus*, *Theseus*.

V. Homer. — Gladstone, *Homer* (primer); Jebb, *Greek Literature* (primer), pp. 19–37; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, ch. i; Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, ch. ii.

VI. The Prehistoric Age. — Botsford, *Greece*, ch. i; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. chs. iv, viii, xiii, xiv.

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TEMPLE OF POSEIDON IN POSIDONIA, ITALY

CHAPTER III

TWO PERIODS OF COLONIAL EXPANSION

[(*a*) Before 1000 B.C. ; (*b*) 750–550 B.C.]

57. Earlier Colonization (before 1000 B.C.). — The Greeks did not long rest contented in the mother country. During the prehistoric age, as we have seen, they were settling the islands and the east coast of the Aegean Sea. They could pass without danger, without losing sight of land, across its entire breadth. Indeed, from the mountains of Euboea the Greeks could look quite across the sea to the hills of Chi'os. Before 1000 B.C. the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians had formed the settlements mentioned in the preceding chapter,[1] — the Aeolians on the north, the Ionians in the centre, and south of them the Dorians. We are not to think of these colonists as leaving Greece to settle in foreign lands, but rather as extending the boundaries of

[1] § 44.

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their own country. Greece, or Hellas, was the land of the Greeks, or Hellenes, wherever that might be. Its boundaries varied with the fortunes of the race.

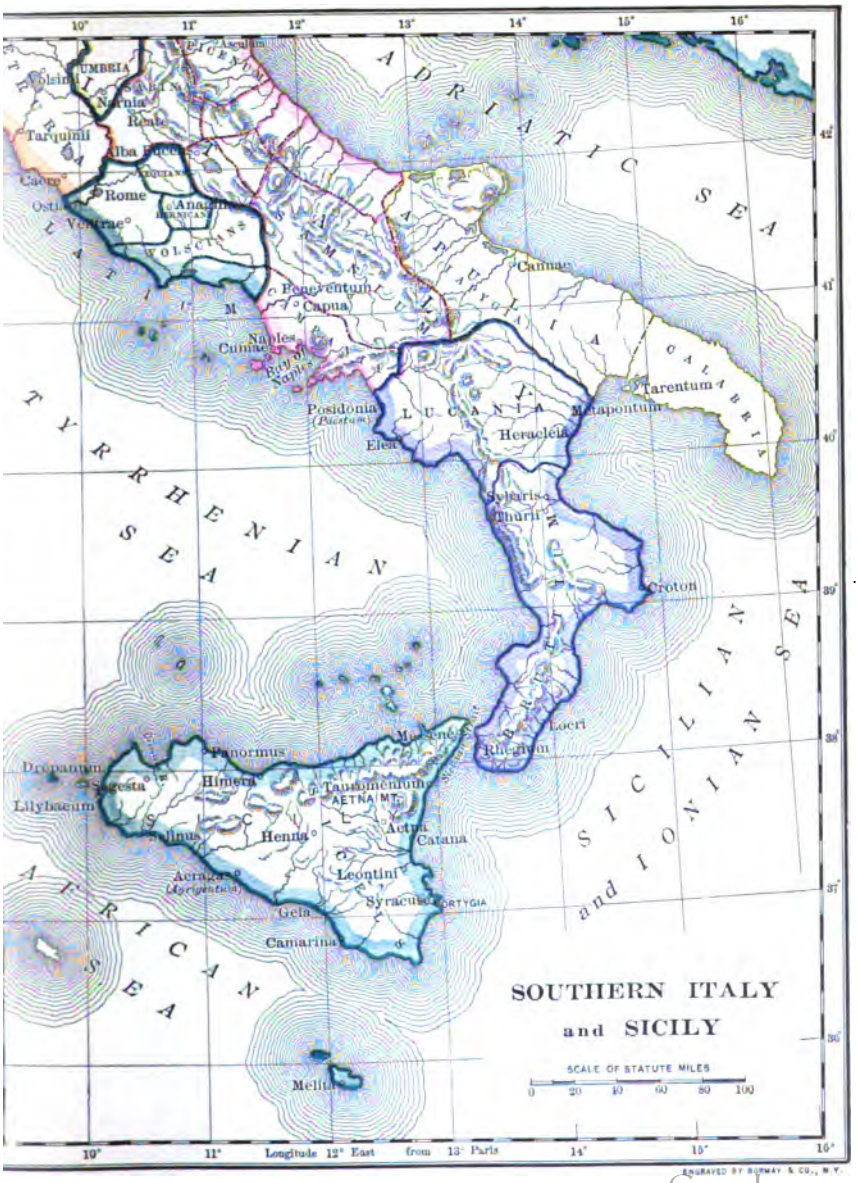
Of all the early Greeks the *Ionians* of Asia Minor were the most active and intelligent. Their country was the best in Hellas; it had a rich soil, a delightful climate, and plenty of good harbors. From the Lydians, their near neighbors, they learned to weave fine woollens, which they dyed purple and wore in long robes with abundant golden ornaments. In their ships they carried their fine merchandise, not only among the islands and along the coasts of Greece, but even to Egypt and to Italy.

Believing that their ancestors had come as colonists from Attica, twelve of their cities, joining in a league, prided themselves on their purity of race. But in fact with the Attic immigrants had come strangers from various parts of Hellas, so that even in the beginning the population was mixed; and further, "those of noblest descent brought no women with them to their settlement, but took Carian women, whose parents they slew; and on account of this slaughter these women laid down for themselves a rule, imposing oaths on one another, and handed it on to their daughters, that they should never eat with their husbands, nor call them by name, for this reason, because the Ionians had slain their fathers, husbands, and children, and then having done this had them to wife. This happened at Mile'tus,"[1] for centuries the most brilliant city in Greece. As a rule migrations and settlements were made in this way.

58. Later Colonization (750–550 B.C.); Achaean and Locrian Colonies. — About 1000 B.C. came a pause in colonization. Two hundred and fifty years afterward the Hellenes began to plant settlements in Italy and Sicily. Italy is farther than Asia Minor from the Greek peninsula, and the Ionian Sea is not, like the Aegean, filled with islands; yet the Greeks from the Epeirot coast could look in clear weather across the narrowest part of the sea to the shore of

[1] Herodotus i. 146.

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Italy. There they found a far more fertile soil and a milder climate than they had known in their old homes. So large, too, was the new country that the early settlers called it "Great Greece." In southern Italy the Achaeans planted a group of prosperous colonies, the chief of which were *Syb'a-ris*, noted for her wealth and luxury, and Cro'ton, the home of famous athletes and physicians. After these two cities had shown the utmost good feeling toward each other for many years, they engaged in deadly strife, in which Sybaris was blotted out of existence. (510 B.C.)

South of the Achaeans the city of *Lo'cri*, founded by Locrians, was not only rich and prosperous but renowned for her excellent government and laws.[1]

59. Ionic and Doric Colonies. — Chal'cis, an Ionic city of Eu-boe'a, noted for her manufactures and commerce, also founded many colonies in the West, some of which became great centres of traffic. One of the most important in Italy was *Cu'mae*,[2] near the Bay of Naples, a colony which we may style Rome's first schoolmistress, as she taught the Romans the alphabet and other rudiments of culture. Two notable colonies from Chalcis — Rhe'gi-um and Zan'cle, afterward named Mes-se'ne — were founded on opposite sides of the Sicilian strait; and there were many other Ionian settlements in northern Sicily.

The Spartans, who were Dorians, founded one early colony in Italy, at *Ta-ren'tum*, on the best harbor of the eastern coast. Because of its situation this city became renowned for commerce, wealth, and refinement; so that it contrasted strikingly with frugal, old-fashioned Sparta.

Corinth, another Dorian city, founded *Syracuse* in Or-tyg'i-a, an island off the eastern coast of Sicily. In time this colony outgrew the island, and spread over the adjoining mainland till it became the largest city in Greece; its "Great Harbor" could shelter the navies of the world. Next to Syracuse in importance among the Dorian colonies of Sicily was Ac'ra-gas — Latin Ag-ri-gen'tum. Its founders

[1] Botsford, *Greece*, p. 32.

[2] § 214.

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built their city on a hill two miles from the sea, and adorned it with temples, colonnades, and beautiful dwellings, while all about it they planted vineyards and olive orchards. On account of its brilliancy and beauty Pindar, the poet, calls it "the eye of Sicily."

60. Results of Colonization in the West. — Because of its wonderful fertility, Sicily soon excelled the mother country in wealth. Its



FOUNTAIN OF ARETHUSA AT SYRACUSE
(Present appearance)

cities were mostly on the coast, and for this reason Pindar calls them "a gorgeous crown of citadels," which nearly surrounded the island. The Greeks were prevented from completing the circuit of colonies by Phoenicians from Carthage,[1] who occupied the west end of Sicily. Whereas the Ionians were for the most part in the north of the island, the Dorians were in the south. On the whole the latter had the better situation, and so were the more prosperous.

The colonization of the West began as early as 750 B.C. and con-

[1] § 22.

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tinued a century or more. The territory occupied by the Greeks in Italy is called Mag'na Grae'ci-a ("Great Greece"); while the term "Western Greece" includes their settlements in both Italy and Sicily. Western Greece was related to the mother country somewhat as America now is to Europe. It remained politically distinct, but always kept in the closest commercial and intellectual contact.

61. Northern Colonies. — Chalcis was the first city to send colonies northward. On the northwest coast of the Aegean, explorers found a broad peninsula with three arms reaching far into the sea. It is so rugged and has so long a coast-line that the Greeks who went there to live found it very homelike. Men swarmed to that region to work the copper, silver, and gold mines, and to cut timber for shipbuilding; and as most of them came from Chalcis, they named their new home *Chal-cid'i-ce.* Pot-i-dae'a, a Corinthian colony, however, became the chief commercial city of the region (§ 136).

While some of the Greeks were working the mines of Chalcidice, others were sailing into the Hel'les-pont to fish and to found settlements along its shores. The people of Miletus established more colonies there than did any of the other Greeks. They were the first also to push on through the strait of Bos'po-rus and to explore and settle the coasts of the Black (Eux'ine) Sea. Its southern coast yielded silver, copper, iron, and timber; its northern coast, cattle and grain; the sea itself, fish. The country about this sea accordingly supplied the populous districts of Greece with food and with raw material for manufactures.

One of the most important of the colonizing cities of Greece was Megara; and her principal settlement was *By-zan'ti-um* at the entrance to the Bosporus. It has remained a great city to the present day; but long ago its name was changed to Constantinople.

All the colonies on the shores of the Aegean Sea and in the country of the Hellespont, extending as far as Byzantium, entered at once into the political and intellectual life of Greece. The circle of the Aegean coasts and islands was in fact the heart of Hellas, in

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which her history centred. The outlying colonies, on the other hand, as those in western Greece and about the Black Sea, were, so to speak, her arms by which she came into contact with the world, to supply herself with material and mental food, and to offer to the world in return rich gifts from her store of wisdom and art.

62. The More Distant Colonies. — From the point of view just set forth no settlements were more important than those made on the farthest Mediterranean shores. As early as 1000 B.C. the Greeks colonized *Cyprus*. After Psammetichus[1] with their help had united Egypt under his rule and had freed it from Assyria, he permitted them to settle in his country; and somewhat later they founded *Nau'cra-tis* near one of the mouths of the Nile. In it all the great commercial cities of Greece had their warehouses, chartered by the Egyptian government. The kings of the land sent youths to Naucratis to learn the Hellenic tongue, and began to form alliances with the Greek states. Many Greeks who were eager for knowledge and had the leisure and the means of travelling visited Egypt to see the strange old country and learn wisdom from its priests. They brought home a few valuable facts about surveying, the movements of the stars, and the recording of events, and with the help of this little treasure of truths their own bright minds worked out the first real science.

The Aegean sailor on his way to Egypt passed southward by Crete to the nearest point of the Libyan shore, thence eastward to Naucratis. Near the Libyan landing some Dorians founded *Cy-re'ne*. They conquered the natives of the vicinity and planted other colonies. The Cyrenaeans were able to defend themselves against Egyptian armies; but Egypt on the east, Carthage on the west, and in the interior the desert gave them little room for expansion.

In the opposite direction, the Phocaeans of Ionia rowed their fifty-oared galleys to the southern coast of Gaul, where they founded *Mas-sa'li-a* on an excellent harbor. From this colony as a centre

[1] § 8.

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they established trading stations in the interior as well as along the coast; by means of these settlements they extended their traffic over the whole of Gaul and as far as Britain and the Baltic Sea. In Spain the Greeks founded fewer settlements, owing to its distance as well as to the opposition of the Phoenicians, who were already taking possession of this peninsula.

63. Organization of a Colony. — When a city planned to send out a colony, it was customary first to ask the advice and consent of Apollo at Delphi. Having obtained this, it appointed some noble as "founder," who was to lead the enterprise, to distribute the lands among the settlers, and to arrange the government. Generally the mother city permitted any from neighboring communities to join the expedition, and all did so who loved adventure, or wanted better opportunities for trading or farming, or felt oppressed by the home government. The founder assigned each man his place in the new state, and established a government and religion like those of the mother city. In this connection it is well to notice that every Greek city had in its town hall a sacred hearth on which it always kept fire burning. This hearth was the religious centre of the community, an altar on which the divine founder and ancestor received his sacrifices. It was customary for colonists to carry with them sacred fire from the hearth of the mother city with which to kindle the public hearth of the new settlement, that the religious life of the old community might continue uninterrupted in the new, and that those who went forth to found homes in a strange country might not for a moment be deprived of divine protection. Although the colony usually looked to the mother city with respect and love, — such as a child owes to his parent, — it was politically independent.

64. Greece and the Greeks. — The later period of colonization, which began about 750 B.C., came to an end two centuries afterward. In this time the Greeks had spread over a large part of the known ancient world, as the western Europeans have made their home in every part of the modern world. The Greeks were then all that

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western Europeans now are, — representatives and teachers of the highest existing civilization, carrying their culture everywhere, and everywhere gaining the advantage over others by means of their own superior vitality and intelligence. Greece, or Hellas, included all their settlements on the shores of the Mediterranean and its tributaries, from Egypt and Ci-li'ci-a to the "Pillars of Heracles," — Strait of Gi-bral'tar, — and from south Russia to the Libyan desert. They were not united under a single government, but were one in blood, one in speech and manners, one in religion.

Topics for Reading

I. Causes and Effects of Colonization. — Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 353–358; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 86–89.

II. Colonies in Italy and Sicily. — Bury, pp. 93–106; Abbott, i. pp. 342–348; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 282–294.

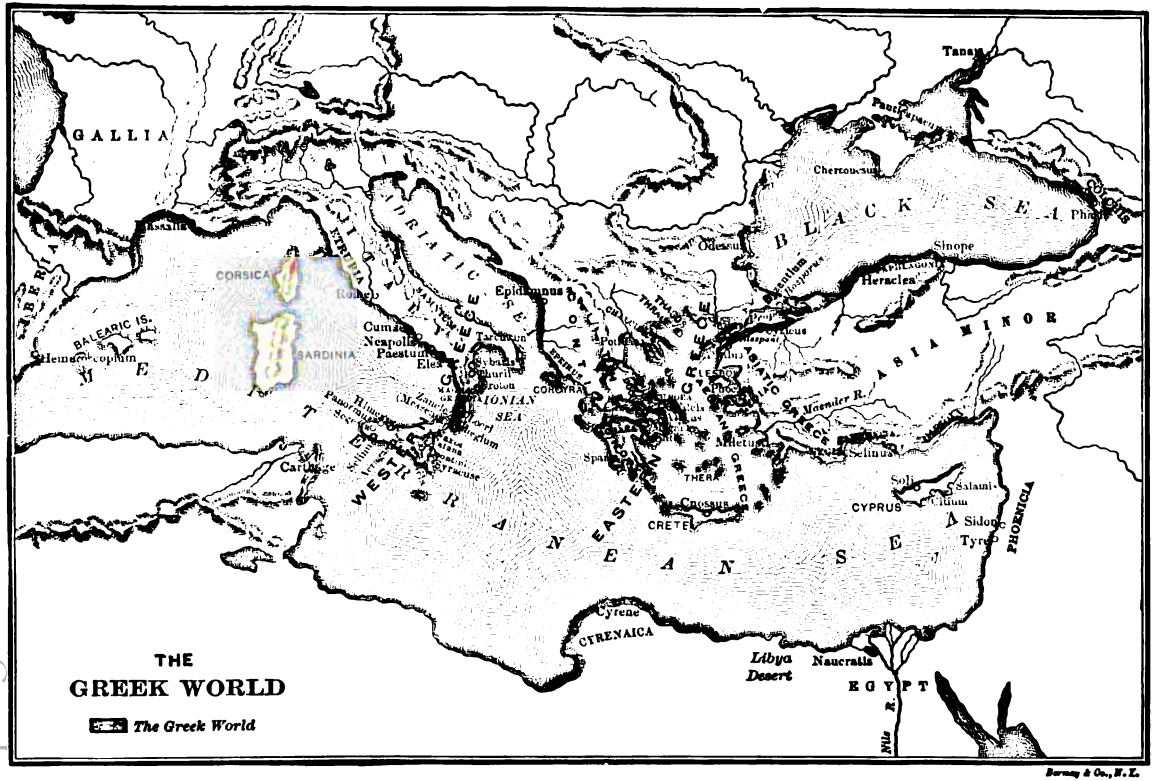
III. Character of a Greek Colony. — Botsford, *Greece*, p. 39; Bury, p. 87 f.; Abbott, i. p. 355 f.



A GREEK VASE

(Demeter, Persephone, and Triptolemus)

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CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

65. The City-state. — In every Greek community, whether a colony or not, several kindred families were joined in a brotherhood (phra'try); several of these brotherhoods in a tribe (phy'le); and three or four tribes made up the city. This division of the community served political, military, and religious purposes. The space within the walls was usually so small and contained so few people that we should call it a village; the whole domain of the community occupied perhaps no more than the valley of some brook. The Greek word *pol'is* ("city") applied to the whole domain, which included a walled town and the fields about it. As the Greek state was under the city government, and within the city limits, we call it a city-state to distinguish it from the territorial states of modern times. All the citizens of a Greek state regarded each other as kinsmen, the children of a common ancestor. Thus in every Ionian city they claimed descent from Ion through his four sons, the fathers of the four tribes to which they all belonged.[1] Though these remote ancestors were mythical, the Greeks looked upon them as real persons. Each state gave special honor to some one of the gods, and each worshipped the common ancestor. The Ionian cities, for instance, worshipped Apollo, the divine father of Ion; and the people of each town considered it impious to admit strangers to their brotherhoods and to their religious festivals, for the god loved only his fellow-citizens and looked upon all others as intruders.

66. Amphictyonies. — There were hundreds of these little city-

[1] § 71, n. 3.

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states in early Greece. It was difficult for them to unite in larger states, because they were so exclusive in their religion and because they were separated from one another by high mountain ranges. But neighboring communities sometimes found it convenient to join together for commerce or for social and religious purposes. A league of this kind was called by the Greeks an am-phic'ty-on-y — a "union of neighbors." At fixed times the citizens gathered at the shrine of the god to hold their fair and festival in his honor. Deputies from the states of the league met in a council to deliberate on the interests of the god and of his worship.

The *most famous amphictyony* was that of twelve tribes — not cities — of Thessaly and central Greece for the protection of the shrine of Apollo, the prophet-god of Delphi. Though the members of the league continued to fight among themselves and would not help one another when attacked by foreigners, they recognized certain laws of war; for instance, they were not to destroy any allied city or cut it off from running water in a siege, and any one who wronged the god or injured his property they were to punish with foot and hand and voice, and with every means in their power. This they did by declaring a "sacred war" against the offending state.

67. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphi. — The great importance of the league which centred in Delphi was due to the oracle of Apollo in that city. High up in a ravine at the southern base of Mount Parnassus, in the midst of magnificent scenery, stood the temple of Apollo. Within was a fissure in the earth through which volcanic vapor issued inspiring the Pyth'i-a, or prophetess of Apollo, who sat over it on a tripod. In ecstasy from the vapor, she muttered something in reply to questions; a priest standing near wrote out her utterance, and gave it to the questioner as the word of Zeus delivered to man through his son Apollo. The oracle extended its influence beyond the Delphic Amphictyony till it became national. Apollo then came to be recognized as the *expounder of religious and*

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moral law for all Hellas; he often gave his sanction to political measures; he watched over the calendar, and was the guide and patron of colonists. His advice was sought by individuals and by states on both private and public matters. His fame extended beyond Greece, and some foreign nations acknowledged him as their highest religious authority. Those who sought his favor sent him presents till his treasuries were full of wealth. The Delphic



DELPHI WITH MODERN VILLAGE

priests, who were the real authors of the oracles, kept themselves acquainted with current events that they might give intelligent advice; but when necessary to preserve the credit of Apollo, they offered double-meaning prophecies so as to be right in any event. In moral questions their influence was usually wholesome, as they preferred to advise just and moderate conduct. But sometimes the oracle was bribed, sometimes it lent its aid to the schemes of politicians, and in the war of independence which the Greeks fought

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against Persia it lost favor by being unpatriotic. Notwithstanding all its shortcomings, it was a bond of union among the Hellenes, for in thinking of Apollo as their common prophet, they thought of one another as members of the same great political society.

68. Political Leagues; Great States. — Some religious leagues became political as well. This happened when one of the cities grew strong enough to compel the others to acknowledge her as leader in war. Such a leadership the Greeks called a he'ge-mō-ny. For instance, among the cities of Boeotia which joined in a league for the worship of Athena, the greatest were Orchomenus and Thebes. Each aimed to make herself more powerful by conquering her neighbors. In course of time Thebes outstripped Orchomenus and became the head of the league. The victor then tried continually, but in vain, to subject the other allied cities to herself, so as to convert the league into a single great state. The whole history of Boeotia turns on this strife.

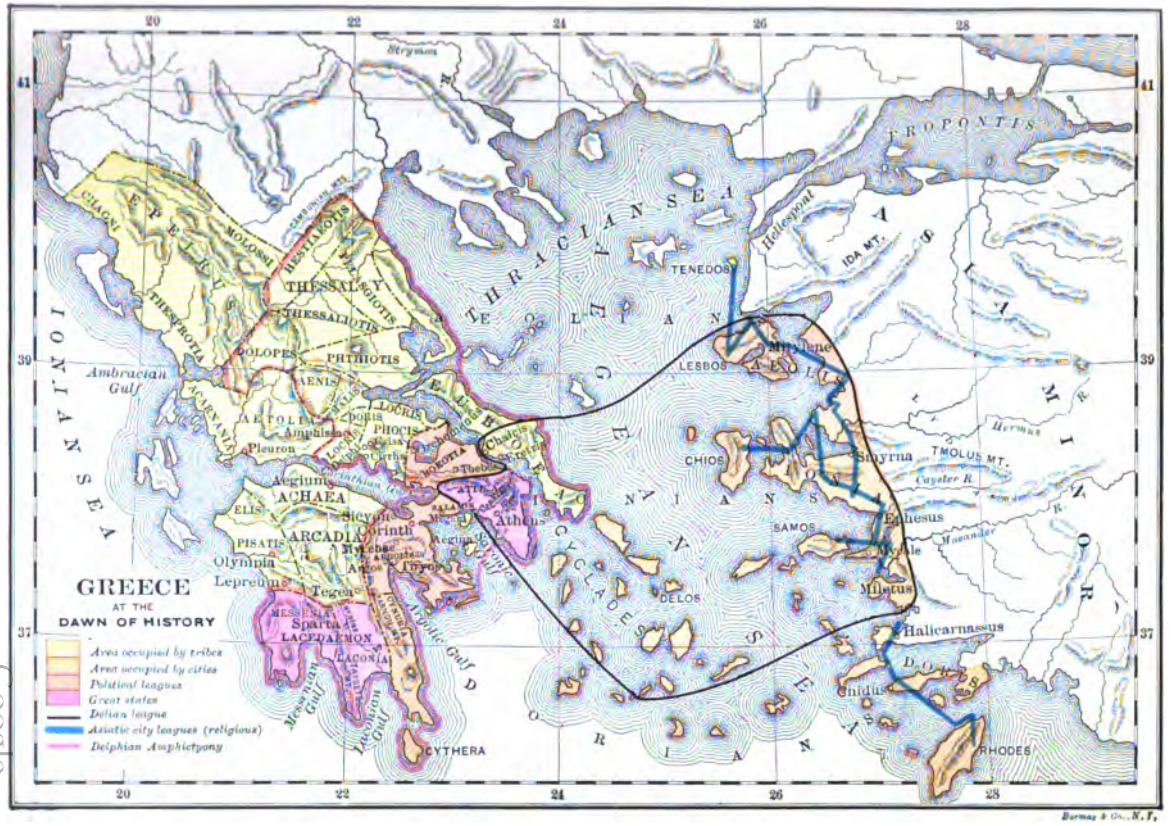
Argolis also had a league of cities. First Tiryns was leader, then Mycenae, and finally Argos, which at the beginning of the historic age was the strongest power in Greece.[1] Though Argos advanced beyond Thebes in the work of changing her alliance to a single great state, she did not in this attempt meet with perfect success.

What Thebes and Argos failed to accomplish Athens achieved before the dawn of history. Partly by fighting, but in the main by persuasion, she brought together the petty kingdoms of Attica in one large state. In time all the Atticans became Athenians, and the whole country was brought into the city-state of Athens.

By subduing the free cities of Laconia, Sparta, too, built up a great state. Unlike Athens, however, she kept the conquered cities in subjection to herself. It is an important fact that at the dawn of history (about 700 B.C.) Athens and Lacedaemon — the state governed by Sparta — were the only two Greek states, as distin-

[1] § 38.

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guished from leagues, which included a large area.[1] Hence they were to become in time the strongest powers in Greece.

69. The Great National Games. — Another institution which helped unite the Greeks was the great national games. There were four of these, held at Olympia, Ne'me-a, on the Isthmus of Corinth, and at Delphi, each in honor of the chief god of the place.[2] The Olympian games were the most splendid. They began in the earliest times as a merely local festival ; but gradually more distant communities joined in them, till all the Hellenes took part, and thus they became national. Once, in four years a vast number of Greeks from all the shores of the Mediterranean gathered on the banks of the Alpheius in Elis to see the competitions. The month in which the games were held was proclaimed a holy season, during which all Hellas ought to be at peace with itself. The multitude encamped



THE WRESTLERS

[1] Although they were large as compared with the other states of Greece, we should compare them in area not with our states, but with our counties. Attica contained no more than a thousand square miles. Determine from the map of Greece whether Laconia was larger or smaller than Attica.

[2] Apollo at Delphi, Poseidon on the Isthmus, and Zeus at Nemea and at Olympia.

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about the sacred enclosure of Zeus, the great god of Olympia. "Merchants set up their booths, and money-changers their tables, all classes of artists tried to collect audiences and admirers, crowds attended the exercises of the athletes who were in training, or admired the practice of the horses and chariots which were entered for the races. Heralds recited treaties, military or commercial, recently formed between Greek cities, in order that they might be more widely known." [1]

The competitors in the games had to be Greeks of good character and religious standing and of sufficient athletic training. The judges of the games examined the qualifications of candidates, and at the end bestowed the wreath of victory. There were contests in running, leaping, discus-throwing, spear-hurling, wrestling, boxing, and racing of horses and chariots.

Such contests promoted art; the Greek sculptor found his best models among the athletes. These great national games also fostered commerce, peace, and unity.

Topics for Reading

I. The City-state. — Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 20–22; Cox, *Greeks and Persians*, pp. 4–10; Fustel de Coulanges, *Ancient City*, Bk. iii; Fowler, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chs. i–iii.

II. The Delphic Oracle. — Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. II. ch. iv. pp. 20–28 (N.Y. 1886); Holm, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 228–236; Abbott, *History of Greece*, ii. p. 30 f.

III. The Olympic Games. — Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 140–144; Curtius, Bk. II. ch. iv. pp. 31–35; Holm i. pp. 235–241.

[1] P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 275 f.

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OLYMPIA
(Reconstruction.)

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CHAPTER V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATHENS FROM KINGSHIP TO DEMOCRACY (753–508 B.C.)

70. The Kingship (to 753 B.C.). — The early society and government of Athens were like those of other Ionian states.[1] Her last royal family, the Me-don'ti-dae, claimed descent from King Co'drus ("The Glorious"). There is a myth that in his reign the Dorians invaded Attica. Word came to him from Apollo at Delphi that the army whose leader should be killed by the enemy would be victorious in the war. Thereupon he dressed himself like a peasant, and going into the Dorian camp, intentionally provoked a quarrel and was slain without being known, thus bringing eternal glory to himself and victory to his country. The Athenians from gratitude for his heroic self-sacrifice decreed that his son Me'don should reign in his stead; and after Medon, his descendants, the Medontidae, were kings of Athens for many generations. Although Codrus is mythical, no one doubts the existence of the family.

The Athenian council of nobles — known as the Council of the A-re-op'a-gus[2] — desired to weaken the royal power. In 753 B.C. it decreed accordingly that the king should reign for a period of only ten years, whereas he had hitherto held office for life. While the government remained for a time a kingship in name, this change made it in fact an aristocracy.

71. The Aristocracy (753–594 B.C.). — One power after another was taken from the king and bestowed upon new officers until (about 650 B.C.) there were nine principal magistrates called archons. They

[1] §§ 53–55. [2] § 73.

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were (1) the Archon,[1] who was the chief executive magistrate, (2) the pol'em-arch, who commanded the army, (3) the king, now a mere priest and judge, and (4) the six thes-moth'e-tae ("legislators") who recorded the laws, had charge of public documents, and acted as judges in certain civil cases. At first these officers were selected from the nobles by the Council of the Areopagus.



THE AREOPAGUS
(A group of excavators in the foreground)

The *Council of the Areopagus*, like the council in other Ionic cities,[2] was originally made up of great nobles, the leaders of the tribes or the phratries or the powerful families[3] (*gentes*, Gk. *gene*) of the state. But after the institution of the archons at Athens, the same council came to be composed of all ex-archons who had filled their offices with credit. The members of this body were therefore wealthy, and they held their places for life. They cared for the interests of the richer classes, supervised the magistrates, and punished immoral as well as lawless citizens. In this period they were the supreme power in the state.

[1] In this book, when the word archon applies to the head of the board of "nine archons," it will be capitalized.

[2] § 55.

[3] § 65.

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A *Council of Four Hundred and One*, formed about 650 B.C., was filled by lot in such a way as to represent the four tribes[1] and forty-eight townships[2] of Attica. It prepared decrees for presentation to the assembly and assisted the magistrates in their duties.

In the earlier part of the period, the common citizens had little to do with the government; but about 650 B.C. the *assembly*, now consisting of all who could equip themselves with full armor, began to meet regularly. It elected magistrates, and accepted or rejected decrees prepared for it by the Council of Four Hundred and One. At the same time the wealthy, even though they might not be noble, became eligible to the offices.

With a view to taxation and military service, the citizens were divided into four classes according to the amount of produce which each citizen derived from his land. These census classes, however, did not become important till the following period.[3]

72. The Conspiracy of Cylon (628 B.C.). — While these changes were taking place, the country was full of confusion and strife. The poor, who were for the most part in slavery to the rich, threatened to rebel against their lords; the shepherds and peasants of the Hills in north Attica hated the wealthier men of the Plain about Athens, just as the highland and lowland Scots used to hate each other; both Plain and Hills were hostile to the traders and fishermen of the Shore; and the contention between these *local factions* was continually breaking out into civil war. In addition to these troubles, the great families were actually fighting with each other for the possession of the offices, and as the son inherited the feuds of his father no one could hope for an end of the turmoil. The state was in fact drifting into anarchy.

There was at this time in Attica an ambitious young man named *Cylon*, who belonged to one of the noblest and most powerful families

[1] The *Geleontes*, *Aegicoreis*, *Argadeis*, and *Hopletes*. They are called the Ionic tribes, as they are found in every Ionic state; cf. § 65.

[2] The naucraries.

[3] § 78

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of the state, and who had greatly distinguished himself by winning a victory in the Olympic games. Taking advantage of the weakness of his country he planned to usurp the government. His father-in-law, The-ag'e-nes, despot of Megara, encouraged him in his scheme and lent him a force of hired soldiers. With the help of these mercenaries and of a band of friends from the nobility, he seized the Acropolis. But the country people in great numbers put on their armor and besieged him in the citadel. When their provisions were exhausted, Cylon and his brother stole through the besieging lines; their starving followers, forced to surrender, flocked for protection about Athena's altar on the Acropolis. Hereupon the chiefs of the townships promised these suppliants their lives if they would submit to trial. They agreed; yet not having full confidence in the promise, they tied a thread to Athena's image, and holding one end of it, went down to the tribunal. But when they came near the shrine of the Furies,[1] the thread by which the goddess gave them her protection broke; and then the Archon Meg'a-cles and his followers stoned and butchered them, permitting only a few to escape. Probably a feud between the family of Cylon and that of Megacles led to this impious massacre. The Alc-me-on'i-dae, to whom Megacles belonged, were the mightiest family in Attica. The state appears to have been powerless to bring them to trial either for murder or for the mistreatment of suppliants, but the curse of impiety rested upon the whole family for two centuries or more.[2] There was need of laws and courts for the suppression of such feuds.

73. Draco, the Lawgiver (621 B.C.). — By keeping the laws secret the nobles had ruled thus far in their own interest; the magistrates decided cases in favor of those of their own rank or of those who

[1] The work of the Furies, or angry goddesses, was to punish perjury, murder, mistreatment of parents and suppliants, and a few other such offences. At that time their shrine was probably a cave in the south side of the Areopagus.

[2] A suppliant was one who took refuge at an altar or in a temple of some god. Any one who mistreated a suppliant brought upon himself and his family the curse of impiety.

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could pay the highest fee. Men were growing rich through injustice; and though the great lords were often at strife with one another, they agreed in insulting and oppressing the lower class. Naturally the commons resisted this oppression and demanded to know the laws by which they were judged. The nobles yielded, and in 621 B.C. the citizens elected Draco "legislator"[1] with full power to write out a code for the state.

His *laws of homicide* are of chief interest because the Athenians retained them unchanged for many centuries. Before Draco a man who killed another in self-defence, or for any other good reason, was compelled, like the wilful murderer, to flee from the country or satisfy the kinsmen of the slain by paying them a sum of money; otherwise they would kill him in revenge. According to Draco's code wilful murder was to be tried by the council of nobles sitting on the Areopagus, a hill within the city which was sacred to the Furies, and the penalty in case of conviction was death with the confiscation of the murderer's property. From this hill accordingly the aristocratic council received its name, "Council of the Areopagus."[2] Cases of accidental and justifiable homicide were to be tried by other courts, each in its appropriate place, and the punishments were graded according to the degree of guilt.

Theft of vegetables was punishable with death; and this fact has given Draco a reputation for cruelty. But though the penalty for stealing was too severe, the laws of homicide were a great improvement. "Whoever made them originally, whether heroes or gods, did not oppress the unfortunate, but alleviated humanely their miseries so far as they could with right."[3] It is even probable that apart from his laws of homicide he made little change in existing customs, so that he cannot be held wholly responsible for the harsh features of his code.

74. Lords and Tenants. — His laws did nothing, however, to help

[1] He was one of the six thesmothetae; § 71. [2] § 70.
[3] Demosthenes xxiii. 70.

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the wretched poor. The cause of their misery we shall now consider.

When a wandering tribe or a colony took possession of a tract of land on which to found a city, the king or leader divided the ploughland among the men, doubtless giving each a lot proportioned to his rank. In return for these gifts the citizens followed the king in war and worked for him or gave him presents to support him in time of peace. The richer citizens, who on account of their illustrious descent or their distinguished service in war had received large estates, also divided a part of their lands among tenants, — either their best slaves or homeless persons. In return for the land the tenants served their lord, and supported him in war and in politics. In Attica such tenants were called *hec-tē'mo-ri*,[1] because in addition to other service they paid their lord a sixth part of the produce. No one thought of selling his lot of land, first because he did not think of it as property, and secondly because the sale would have deprived him of a livelihood.

75. Slavery of the Masses. — We have seen how the nobles degraded the office of king to a mere priesthood, and themselves ruled the state through their council.[2] After they had brought about this great change in the government, they were not content with the enjoyment of all the political power, but aimed also to acquire all the wealth in the state and to gain an absolute mastery over the citizens. Those peasants who had received lands directly from the king, and were, therefore, practically freemen, the nobles forced into dependence on themselves; when a lord laid claim to a field, whether justly or unjustly, he placed on it a "boundary" stone, as a sign that the land and the persons on it were his. It was not long before these stones stood on all the farms in Attica, holding "Black Earth enslaved," in the words of Solon, a great statesman of the time. In addition to the payment of rent the better class of tenants had to equip themselves at their own expense for military service; and if any one

[1] Literally "sixth-part men."

[2] §§ 55, 70 f.

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tailed to bring in his quota of produce, or otherwise fell into debt to his lord, he and his children could be sold into slavery. With nothing but sharpened sticks for digging the stony soil the poor tenants found it so difficult to make a living and pay their dues, that many were actually sold into slavery to foreign masters. There was no legal way of obtaining satisfaction, for their lords were the absolute judges in the courts. Accordingly they agreed among themselves to rebel.

76. Solon. — When the existence of the city was thus threatened, Solon came forward to save it. He addressed to the citizens a poem containing the following words: —

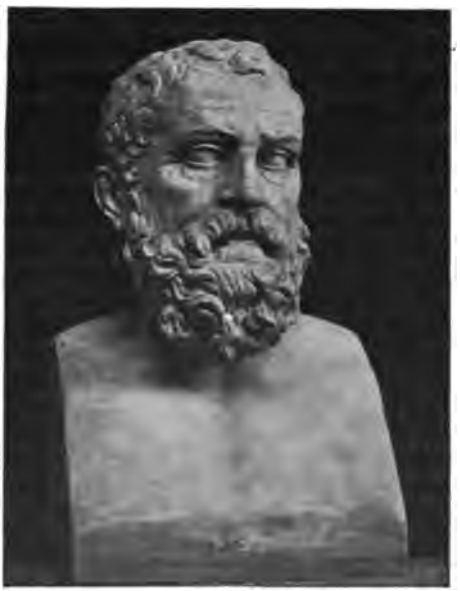
"It is not the will of Zeus and the purpose of the blessed undying gods that our city should ever perish; for in such wise the great-souled guardian of the city — Pallas Athena, daughter of a mighty sire — spreads over it her hands. The *nobles*, persuaded by their love of money, desire thoughtlessly to destroy the great city. Dishonest is the mind of the *magistrates*, who for their monstrous violence shall suffer many ills. For they know not how to be satisfied or to enjoy the present feast in quiet. . . . They grow wealthy by obeying injustice. . . . Sparing neither sacred nor public property, they rob and steal, one here another there. . . . And many of the *poor* are going into foreign lands, sold and bound in unseemly chains, and suffer hateful woes by force of slavery. Hall doors will no longer hold the evil; it leaps over the lofty hedge, and you find it even if you hide in a chamber corner. This my soul bids me teach the Athenians, that misrule brings most ills to a city, but that good rule makes all things harmonious and at one."

77. Archonship of Solon (594 B.C.). — Solon was not only a member of one of the noblest families in Attica, but also a merchant of wide experience and a friend of the poor. As all classes therefore had confidence in him, they elected him Archon and lawgiver for the year 594 B.C., that he might restore harmony among the citizens and give them a better government.

On the day he entered office he ordered the *removal of all the boundary stones*, so as to release the tenants from the payment of dues to their lords. For the future he forbade slavery for debt, and fixed the amount of land which any one might legally acquire. And in order that the people might henceforth protect both their freedom

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and their property, he admitted the lowest class[1] as well as the others to a popular supreme court which he established, and to the assembly. The *court* was composed of all citizens thirty years old and above who offered to serve as jurors; all who were eighteen and above might take part in the *assembly*. Yet as these duties long remained unpaid, none but the well-to-do could find leisure regularly to attend to them. In the assembly the people elected their magistrates and voted on important public questions brought before them by the Council of Four Hundred — formerly Four Hundred and One. The popular court, on the other hand, received appeals from the judgments of the archons, and tried the magistrates at the expiration of their terms, if any one accused them of having abused their authority. These were by far his most important measures. He did not rest, however, till he had improved the entire government.



"SOLON"

(National Museum, Naples. As there are no contemporary portraits of Greek persons so early as Solon, this bust, like the statue of Homer, can only be an ideal.)

78. The Athenian Constitution as improved by Solon.[2] — The constitution, improved by him, had the following form: —

[1] § 71.

[2] The constitutional matter in small type may be reserved for the review or omitted altogether by beginning classes, according to the judgment of the teacher.

I. **The Territorial Divisions of Attica.**

The four tribes and forty-eight nau'crar-ies, or townships, remain as before (§ 71).

II. **The Four Census Classes.**

1. The *pen-ta-co-si-o-me-dim'ni* — "five-hundred-bushel men" — whose estates yield 500 or more measures of grain, oil, and wine. They are eligible to cavalry service, to the highest military offices, to treasuryships, and archonships.
2. The *hip'peis* — knights — whose estates yield from 300 to 500 measures wet and dry. They are eligible to cavalry service, probably to the archonships, and to various offices of moderate importance.
3. The *zeu-gi'tae* — "yoked-men," that is, heavy-armed men in battle array — whose estates yield from 200 to 300 measures wet and dry. They serve in the heavy infantry and are eligible to inferior offices.
4. The *thetes* — the laborers, the poor — whose estates are inferior to those of the zeugitae, or who are entirely without land. They serve as light-armed troops, and though eligible to no offices, they may attend the assembly and the popular court.

The first three classes pay war taxes, which are rarely levied; but the thetes are exempt. The classes existed before (§ 71), but Solon gave them this definite form.

III. **The Magistrates.**

They have the same duties as in the preceding period (§ 71); for their qualifications, see II. At the close of their terms of office they are now responsible to the popular court.

IV. **The Councils.**

1. The Council (*Boulê*) of the Areopagus.
2. The Council (*Boulê*) of the Four Hundred.

} Qualifications and method of appointment of the councillors and powers of the councils are substantially as before (§ 71).

V. **The Assembly** — *Ec-cle'si-a.*

1. Composed of all the citizens who have the leisure and the desire to attend.
2. It elects magistrates and votes on questions brought before it by the Council of Four Hundred.

VI. **The Popular Supreme Court** — *Hel-i-ae'a.*

1. Composed of all citizens above thirty years of age who have the leisure and the desire to attend.
2. It receives appeals from the judgments of archons, and tries the magistrates at the end of their terms.

VII. **Form of Government.**

The government may still be called an aristocracy,[1] as it remains to a great

[1] For the use of the more special term "timocracy," see Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 45, 54.

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extent in the hands of the "better class." But in Solon's arrangements the popular court and the attendance of the thetes at the assembly are democratic. These popular elements of the constitution gradually grow so strong that in time they make the whole government democratic.

79. The Laws of Solon. — The improvement of the constitution was but a part of Solon's work. Revising the laws of Draco, he lightened those penalties which he found too severe. In a kindly spirit he aimed to help the poor by forbidding the exportation of all products of the soil except olive oil; for by keeping the fruit and grain at home he hoped to prevent the return of famine. In the same spirit he made laws to encourage skilled industry, and compelled every man to teach his son a trade; with the growth of manufacturing and commerce he knew that life would become easier and the population larger. As a standard of value for Athens he adopted a silver coin from her friendly neighbor Chalcis. As it was lighter than the coin to which the Athenians had been accustomed, it enabled those who still owed to pay more easily, and it helped trade with Euboea and her colonies, with Egypt, and with all other countries which used the same standard. Thus Solon introduced Athens to a commercial world she had scarcely known before.

80. Drifting into Anarchy (594–560 B.C.). — Solon made his laws binding for a hundred years, and required all the citizens to swear to obey them. When he had completed his work, "he found himself beset by people coming to him and harassing him concerning his laws, criticising here and questioning there, till as he wished neither to alter what he had decided on nor yet to be an object of ill-will to everyone by remaining in Athens, he set off on a journey to Egypt . . . for ten years with the combined objects of trade and travel."[1]

After visiting many foreign lands he returned home to find his country in *great confusion*. No one was satisfied with his reforms; the nobles had hoped he would restore to them all their old power, and the poor had expected a complete redistribution of property.

[1] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 11.

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In fact, though Solon had provided his country with excellent laws, there was no one with the will and the power to enforce them. The state accordingly was falling into anarchy; the men of the Hills, Plain, and Shore[1] were fighting one another so that in some years no Archon could be elected.

81. Pisistratus becomes Tyrant (560 B.C.). — The leader of the Hill men was Pi-sis'tra-tus, "crafty and pleasant of speech, a protector of the poor, and a man of moderation even in his quarrels."[2] These popular qualities, added to his successful generalship in a recent war with Megara, attracted many followers. But the men of the Plain and of the Shore were his bitter foes, who would not hesitate to kill him if an opportunity afforded. One day he drove into the market-place at Athens, and showed the people wounds which he said his enemies had inflicted on himself and his mules. The people in the assembly voted their favorite a guard of fifty men who were to arm themselves with clubs. Pisistratus quietly increased the number, and after substituting spears for clubs, he seized the citadel and made himself tyrant of Athens. A tyrant in the Greek sense was one who seized or held the government illegally — a usurper; he was not necessarily severe.

Though the government of Pisistratus was moderate, he had not ruled long when the leader of the Shore, combining with the chief of the Plain, *drove him into exile*. The two allies soon quarrelled; then the leader of the Shore "opened negotiations with Pisistratus, proposing that the latter should marry his daughter; and on these terms he brought him back to Athens by a very primitive and simple-minded device. He first spread abroad a rumor that Athena was bringing back Pisistratus, and then having found a woman of great stature and beauty, . . . he dressed her in a garb resembling that of the goddess and brought her into the city with Pisistratus. The latter drove in on a chariot with the woman beside him, and the inhabitants of the city, struck with awe, received him with adoration."[3]

[1] § 72. [2] Plutarch, *Solon*, 29. [3] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 14.

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Pisistratus married the daughter of his ally, but afterward refused to treat her as his wife. Enraged at this conduct, her father settled his quarrel with the Plain men, whereupon Pisistratus withdrew from the country and went to Mount Pan-gae'us in Thrace. By working the gold mines of this region he acquired great wealth, with which he hired soldiers and gained many friends. When after ten years of exile he was ready to force his return, Thebes, E-re'tri-a, and other cities gave their active support, for he had a wonderful gift of winning friends abroad as well as at home. He landed at Marathon, on the northeast coast of Attica. While he was there in camp, hundreds who looked to him for protection from the oppression of the nobles flocked to him from all parts of Attica. On the way to Athens he came upon the camp of his opponents, who had no thought of his approach. Some were asleep, and others were playing dice; but all hastily fled. The sons of Pisistratus, however, mounted their horses and easily overtook the fugitives, telling them to go cheerfully home, as no harm would come to them. Although many nobles immediately fled from the country, the people did as they were told. Regaining his authority in this way, Pisistratus established himself firmly by means of troops hired from other states.



ATHENIAN LADY AT TIME OF PISISTRATUS
(Acropolis Museum, Athens)

82. His Government. — "His administration was temperate, as has

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THE OLYMPIEIUM (begun by Pisistratus)
(The Acropolis in the background.)

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been said before, and more like constitutional government than tyranny. Not only was he in every respect humane and mild and ready to forgive those who offended, but in addition he advanced money to the poorer people to help them in their labors, so that they might make their living by agriculture. In this he had two objects; first that they might not spend their time in the city, but might be scattered over all the face of the country; and secondly that, being moderately well off and occupied with their own business, they might have neither the wish nor the leisure to attend to public affairs. At the same time his revenues were increased by the thorough cultivation of the country, since he imposed a tax of one-tenth on all the produce. For the same reason he instituted the local justices and often made journeys in person into the country to inspect it and settle disputes between individuals, that they might not come into the city and neglect their farms."[1]

He built an aqueduct to supply Athens with fresh water; he erected temples, founded religious festivals, and encouraged literature and art. His reign marks a great advance, not only in education, but in agriculture, in the industries, in wealth, and in quiet, orderly government.

83. Hippias and Hipparchus. — When he died in old age (527 B.C.), his sons Hip'pi-as and Hip-par'chus succeeded him. For a time they imitated the wise government of their father. But unfortunately Hipparchus, the younger, in an affair of love, insulted Har-mo'di-us and Ar-is-to-gei'ton, two noble youths, who in return plotted the overthrow of the tyrants. Taking advantage of the Pan-ath-en-a'ic festival in honor of Athena, they concealed their swords in myrtle wreaths, and killed Hipparchus while he was arranging the procession. Hippias, who as the elder was the head of the government, they could not surprise. Failing therefore to overthrow the tyranny, they were themselves taken and put to death. But after the Athenians regained their freedom, they celebrated Harmodius and

[1] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 16.

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Aristogeiton in song as tyrant-slayers, and decreed public honors to be enjoyed forever by the descendants of the two heroes.

In consequence of the murder Hippias treated the nobles with great harshness, so that he became very unpopular.

Meanwhile the exiled nobles were trying to bring about their return. *Cleis'the-nes*, leader of the exiles, won the favor of the Delphic oracle by building for Apollo a splendid temple with a marble front; on this work he spent far more money than the contract demanded. In gratitude for the generous deed the prophetess was ready to aid in restoring the exiles to their homes. Accordingly whenever the Lacedaemonians, now the leading people of Peloponnese,[1] sent to consult the oracle on any subject whatever, the answer was always, "*Athens must be set free.*"

In obedience to the oracle Cle-om'e-nes, king of the Lacedaemonians, led an army into Attica and besieged Hippias in the Acropolis. "And the Lacedaemonians would never have captured the sons of Pisistratus at all; for the besiegers had no design to make a long blockade, and the others were well provided with food and drink; so that the Lacedaemonians would have gone away back to Sparta after besieging the tyrant's party for a few days only: but as it was, a thing happened just at this time which was unfortunate for the one party, and of assistance to the other; for the children of the sons of Pisistratus were captured while being secretly removed out of the country; and when this happened, all their matters were thereby cast into confusion, and they surrendered — receiving back their children on the terms which the Athenians desired, namely that they should depart out of Attica within five days. After this they departed out of the country, and went to Si-gei'um (a colony they had established) on the Sca-man'der (510 B.C.)."[2]

84. Isagoras and Cleisthenes (510–508 B.C.). — "After the overthrow of the tyranny the rival leaders in the state were I-sag'o-ras, a partisan of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes, who belonged to the family

[1] §§ 92–94.

[2] Herodotus v. 65.

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of the Alcmeonidae. Cleisthenes, being beaten by means of the political clubs, attracted the people to his side by promising the franchise to the masses. Thereupon Isagoras, finding himself left inferior in power, invited Cleomenes, who was united with him by ties of hospitality, to return to Athens, and persuaded him to 'drive out the pollution,' on a plea derived from the fact that the Alcmeonidae were supposed to be under the curse of pollution.[1] Then Cleisthenes, with a few of his adherents, retired from the country, and Cleomenes expelled as polluted seven hundred Athenian families. Having effected this he next attempted to dissolve the Council (of Four Hundred), and to set up Isagoras and three hundred of his partisans as the supreme power in the state. The council, however, resisted, the populace flocked together, and Cleomenes and Isagoras, with their adherents, took refuge in the Acropolis. Here the people sat down and besieged them two days ; and on the third they agreed to let Cleomenes and all his followers depart, while they sent to summon Cleisthenes and the other exiles back to Athens. When the people had thus obtained the command of affairs, Cleisthenes was their chief and leader."[2]

True to his promise, Cleisthenes (508 B.C.) thoroughly *reformed the government*, with the object (1) of mingling all classes of people together on the public registers of citizens that the humble and the high-born might enjoy an equal right to vote, and (2) of putting an end to the feuds among the Plain, Shore, and Hills.[3] To accomplish these ends he first divided Attica into more than a hundred demes, or townships, which he then arranged in thirty groups, termed trit'-ty-es, all as equal as possible in population. Ten of these trittyes were on the Shore, ten in the Plain, and ten on the Hills. Of the trittyes he formed ten tribes by drawing for each tribe a trittys from the Plain, Shore, and Hills respectively. By dividing the three sections equally among the ten tribes he destroyed the local organizations, and thus put an end to the strife among them. And though

[1] § 72. [2] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 20. [3] §§ 72, 80.

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the nobles had controlled the old tribes, the commons were on a political level with them in the new. Cleisthenes was successful in his plans ; the people were thereafter more nearly equal than they had been before, and sectional warfare entirely ceased.

He substituted a Council of Five Hundred — fifty from each tribe — in place of the Four Hundred ; and he provided that there should be ten generals, one for each tribe.[1]

85. The Constitution of Athens as reformed by Cleisthenes.[2] — After he had made these changes and some others of less importance, the constitution of Athens had the following form : —

I. **Territorial Divisions.**
Ten tribes, thirty trittyes, more than one hundred demes; nearly the same as the counties, townships, etc., of a modern state.

II. **The Four Census Classes as before** (§ 78, II).

III. **The Magistrates.**
1. The nine archons as before (§ 78, III); they gradually decline in importance as the more popular offices develop.
2. The ten generals, one from each tribe. They lead the ten tribal regiments and form a council of war under the polemarch. The generals gradually grow in authority at the expense of the archons till they become the chief magistrates.

IV. **The Councils.**
1. Of the Areopagus.
Composition and duties as before (§ 78, IV); but the popular measures of Cleisthenes drive it into the background. It comes again to the front in the war with Persia, and thereafter (480–462 B.C.) gradually declines as the democratic institutions (the assembly, popular courts, and the Council of Five Hundred) grow.
2. Of the Five Hundred (in place of the Four Hundred; § 78, IV), fifty drawn by lot from the candidates presented by each tribe.
(*a*) Organization. — These ten groups of councillors take turns in managing the business of the council, each for a prytany, or tenth of a year. The fifty men on duty for a given time are called *prytaneis* ("foremen"), and their chairman, who is changed daily, is

[1] Though there were generals before Cleisthenes — one for each of the four tribes — the office did not come into prominence till after his time.

[2] § 78, n. 2.

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an *e-pis'ta-tes*. He presides also over the entire council for the short time it meets each day, and over the assembly.

(*b*) Functions. — It prepares decrees for presentation to the assembly, and gradually takes the place of the Council of the Areopagus as the chief supervisory and administrative power in the state.

V. **The Assembly** (regularly meeting once in a prytany).

VI. **The Popular Supreme Court** (meeting but a few times each year).

} Composition and functions as before (§ 77); they begin to take a far more active part in the government.

VII. **Form of Government.**

1. Aristocratic elements.
   (*a*) Council of the Areopagus (because it is filled by wealthy men who hold their places for life).
   (*b*) High property qualifications of the archons.
   (*c*) Filling the archonships by election (rather than by lot).
   (*d*) Absence of pay for most public duties.
2. Democratic elements.
   (*a*) Assembly and popular court (because they are composed of all the citizens).
   (*b*) Council of Five Hundred (as it is filled by lot, the poor have an equal chance of appointment with the rich).
3. Summary. — Though the constitution contains some aristocratic elements, it may now be termed a *moderate democracy* (§ 78, VII).

Cleisthenes introduced a peculiar institution termed "ostracism." The word is derived from *os'tra-kon*, piece of pottery, which was the form of ballot used in the process. Once a year, if the assembly saw fit, the citizens met and voted against any of their number whom they deemed dangerous to the state. If the archons found, on counting the votes, that there were at least six thousand in all, they sent the man who had received the greatest number into exile for ten years. As the Athenian noble lacked respect for the government, he would not, when defeated in his candidacy for office, submit to the will of the majority, but preferred rather in defiance of law to destroy his more fortunate rival. Ostracism removed the dangerous man from the community, and left at the head of the state the one whom the people believed to be the best and ablest.

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86. Summary of Athenian History (753-508 B.C.).—We have now followed the history of Athens through a period of two hundred and fifty years. (1) The kingship gave way to an aristocracy (753 B.C.), in which the nobles greatly oppressed the lower class. (2) Some time[1] before Solon men of wealth gained equal political privileges with those of noble birth. (3) Draco (621 B.C.) gave the citizens the advantage of written laws. (4) Solon (594 B.C.) freed the masses from serfdom and provided them with the means of protecting themselves. (5) Pisistratus and his sons (560–510 B.C.) crushed the nobles and introduced an orderly government. (6) The great reforms of Cleisthenes in favor of liberty and equality filled the citizens with patriotism, and encouraged them to defend their country and freedom, not only against unfriendly neighbors, but also against the enormous armies of Persia which were soon to invade Greece.

Topics for Reading

I. Society and Government in the Time of Homer. — Gladstone, *Homer* (primer) pp. 106–120; Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 10–15; *Development of the Athenian Constitution*, pp. 111–122; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. ch. xiv.

II. Solon. — Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 5–12; Plutarch, *Solon*; Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 50–56; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 180–189.

III. Pisistratus and his Sons. — Aristotle, 13–19; Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 70–80; *Athenian Constitution*, ch. x; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. ch. xxvii; Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. II. ch. ii.

IV. Cleisthenes. — Aristotle, 20, 21; Bury, pp. 211–215; Botsford, *Athenian Constitution*, cn. xi.

[1] About 650 B.C.

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CHAPTER VI

SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE (ABOUT 750–500 B.C.)

87. Perioeci and Helots. — Laconia, like Attica, once contained several independent cities; but Sparta, the strongest, gradually conquered the others and brought them all into one state.[1] Though she permitted them to manage their local affairs, in every other respect she kept them in subjection. The inhabitants of these conquered towns were *per-i-oe'ci* — "dwellers around." As the Spartans had taken their best lands from them, many devoted themselves to commerce and industry. In war they served Sparta as heavy-armed troops,[2] and their condition was at first happy; but after a time Sparta deprived some of them of their independence by sending military governors to rule them.



A SPARTAN TOMBSTONE

Far worse was the condition of the conquered villagers and country people. They were *he'lots* (state serfs) who tilled the fields of the Spartans, bringing their lords

[1] § 68.

[2] A heavy-armed soldier wore a shield, a helmet, a breastplate of leather or felt, — sometimes plated with metal, — and greaves, which covered the front of

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a fixed annual amount of grain, oil, and wine. As cruel treatment continually goaded them to rebellion, they were always suspected by the government. The most prudent young men of Sparta, forming a secret police, used to go one by one through the country to kill any helots whom they thought dangerous. Those, on the other hand, who served the state well in war often received their freedom.

88. The Spartans; their Training. — As the Spartans persisted in keeping the helots and the perioeci in subjection, they had to give their whole attention to military training, so as to be able to enforce obedience. It was necessary in the first place that every Spartan should have a sound body. "A father had not the right of bringing up his *child*, but had to carry it to a certain place . . . where the elders of the tribe sat in judgment upon it. If they thought it well-built and strong, they ordered the father to bring it up, and assigned one of the nine thousand lots of land to it; but if it was mean-looking or misshapen, they sent it away to a place called the Exposure, a glen on the side of Mount Taygetus; for they considered that if a child did not start in possession of health and strength, it was better both for itself and for the state that he should not live at all. . . . Lycurgus[1] would not entrust the Spartan *boys* to any bought or hired servants, nor was each man allowed to bring up and educate his sons as he chose, but as soon as they were seven years of age he himself[2] received them from their parents and enrolled them in companies. In these they lived and messed together, and were associated for play

the legs below the knees. His chief weapons of offence were the sword and pike or spear. Some light troops carried a small shield; others had no defensive armor. Some were armed with bows and arrows, others with slings, and others with short spears (javelins) for hurling.

[1] § 46. Plutarch, who writes this account of Spartan life, supposes Lycurgus to have been the author of all these arrangements; but in fact Lycurgus is mythical, and the education of the Spartans was forced upon them by circumstances. To correct Plutarch we should substitute "the government" or "the authorities" for "Lycurgus."

[2] "Lycurgus," that is, the rulers; see note above.

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and for work. . . . The elder men watched them at their play, and by instituting fights and trials of strength carefully learned which was the bravest and most enduring.

"They learned to read, because that was necessary, but all the rest of their education was meant to teach them *to obey* with cheerfulness, and *to endure* toil, and *to win* battles. As they grew older their training became more severe; their hair was closely cut, and they were taught to go about without shoes and to play unclad. After their twelfth year they wore no tunic, but received one garment for all the year round. They could not help being dirty, for they had no warm baths nor ointments, except as a luxury on certain days. All slept together in troops and companies, on beds of rushes which they had picked up on the banks of the Eurotas. . . . Their education in poetry and music was no less carefully watched over than their cleverness and purity of speech, but their songs were such as rouse men's blood and stir them to deeds of prowess, composed in plain, unaffected language, upon noble and edifying subjects. Most of them were eulogies upon those who had been happy enough to die for their country, reproaches of cowards for living a miserable life, and encouragements to bravery suitable to those of all ages.

"During a *campaign* the rulers made the young men perform less severe gymnastic exercises, and allowed them to live a freer life in other respects, so that for them alone of all mankind, war was felt as a relief from preparation for war. When the array[1] was formed and the enemy were in sight, the king used to sacrifice a kid, and bid them all put on garlands, and the pipers play the hymn . . . Then he himself began to sing the paean for the charge, so that it was a magnificent and terrible spectacle to see the men marching

[1] This is a description of the *pha'lanx*, — a line of warriors with strong defensive armor and long spears, — which moved as a unit to the music of flutes. It was invented by the Spartans, probably in the eighth century B.C., and afterward developed in various ways by other Greek states and by the early Romans; §§ 175, 186, 227.

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in time to the flutes, making no gap in their lines, with no thought of fear, but quietly and steadily moving to the sound of music against the enemy. Such men were not likely to be either panic-stricken or over-confident, but had a cool and cheerful courage, believing that the gods were with them. . . .



A WINNER IN THE GIRLS' FOOT RACES IN ELIS

(Vatican Museum, Rome. To illustrate the figure and dress of a Spartan maiden)

"Ample leisure was one of the blessings with which Lycurgus provided his countrymen, by forbidding them to practise any mechanical art; at the same time money-making and business were unnecessary, because wealth was disregarded and despised."[1]

This gymnastic and military training continued to the sixtieth year. Neither boys, youths, nor men had any home life, but ate at *public tables*. "They formed themselves into messes of fifteen or less. Each member contributed monthly a bushel of barley, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, and half as much figs; and in addition to this a very small sum of money to buy fish and other luxuries for a relish to the bread. This was all except when a man had offered a sacrifice, or been hunting, and sent a portion to the public table. For persons were allowed to dine at home whenever they were late for dinner on account of a sacrifice or a hunting expedition. . . .

[1] The Spartans used iron money only; all other kinds were forbidden by law; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15–23.

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"The 'black broth' was the most esteemed of their luxuries, insomuch that the elderly men did not care for any meat, but always handed it over to the young, and regaled themselves on this broth."[1]

89. Women. — Maidens passed through a training like that of the youths, though less severe. They, too, practised running, leaping, and throwing the spear and discus. The state encouraged them to such exercise, as it considered the gymnastic education of women necessary to the physical perfection of the race. While the mature Spartan continued to eat in the barracks and to pass his time in severe exercises, his wife lived in comfort and luxury. There is a story that Lycurgus, after subjecting the men to discipline, tried to make the women orderly, but failed, and therefore permitted them to live as they pleased.

90. The Government. — The state ruled by Sparta was called Lacedaemon; and the Spartans, perioeci, and helots were alike Lacedaemonians. The Spartans, however, were the only fully privileged citizens. We have already noticed that the state was governed by *two kings*.[2] They were nearly always quarrelling with each other, and hence their rule was weak. The *assembly*, on the other hand, was strong, as it was composed of all the mature Spartans who served in the army. Now while the kings were spending their energy in wrangling, the assembly was taking to itself most of their powers. It did not exercise this authority directly, however, but intrusted it to a board of five *ephors* (overseers) elected annually in the assembly by acclamation. In time the ephors placed themselves at the head of the state, while the kings came to be no more than priests and generals.

The *council* consisted of twenty-eight elders and the two kings, all representing noble families. Both the council and the kings lost influence so rapidly that at the time Solon was making laws for the Athenians, the Lacedaemonian government, though a kingship in name, was in reality an aristocracy. The aristocrats were the

[1] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 11.

[2] § 46.

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Spartans, never more than nine thousand in all, who ruled over the many perioeci and helots.

91. The Messenian Wars (about 725 and 650 B.C.[1]). — After the Spartans had subdued all Laconia, a desire "to plough and plant fertile Messenia" led them to the conquest of that country. In fact they needed more land and helots to support the increasing number of their warrior citizens. After twenty years of hard fighting they drove the Messenians from the stronghold of Mount Ithome,[2] and took possession of the country. Many Messenians went into exile; those who remained became helots and were compelled to till their own fields for the Spartans. Years afterward their grandsons rebelled, and with the help of neighboring states they brought proud Sparta to the verge of ruin. At this crisis Tyr-tae'us,[3] through his poems, encouraged the Spartans after defeat to renew the war with such energy as to force again upon the Messenians the hard yoke of slavery. These two struggles are known as the Messenian Wars.

92. The Peloponnesian League. — Next the Lacedaemonian rulers asked of Apollo at Delphi permission to conquer all Arcadia; but the prophetess answered —

> "The land of Arcadia thou askest: thou askest too much; I refuse it:
> Many there are in Arcadian land, stout men eating acorns;
> These will prevent thee from this: but I am not grudging toward thee;
> Te'ge-a beaten with sounding feet I will give thee to dance in,
> And a fair plain will I give thee to measure with line and divide it."

Tegea, however, made the oracle true by defeating the Lacedaemonians and compelling the prisoners to divide her plain among themselves with a measuring line, and till it in fetters. But somewhat later the Tegeans entered into a league with Sparta and agreed to follow her lead in war. Their example was imitated by the other Arcadians, who proved a source of great military strength to Sparta, for they were strong, brave men, as mountaineers usually are, and made excellent warriors, second only to the Spartans themselves.

[1] The exact dates are unknown. [2] § 38. [3] § 96.

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Lacedaemon had already allied herself with Elis; and afterward Corinth and Sicyon (pron. Sish'i-on) entered the league. Under able tyrants these cities had gained greatly in commerce and in military strength. The men of wealth who overthrew the tyrants in both cities made the alliance with Sparta on the assurance that they should themselves have control of their states. And in general Sparta desired that her allies should be governed by oligarchies[1]; because she knew that oligarchs would be more loyal to her than either tyrants or democrats.



The Peloponnesian League, which Sparta was thus forming, had no common federal *constitution*, such as that of the United States, but each community had its own treaty with Lacedaemon. Deputies from the allied states met in congress at Sparta or Corinth to settle questions of war and peace; and the states furnished troops to serve in war under the Lacedaemonian kings. They did not pay tribute to Sparta, but divided among themselves the expenses of the league, which were always light. Thus the states enjoyed independence and at the same time the advantages of union.

[1] An oligarchy is the "rule of the few." Where the "few" are of noble birth, the oligarchy is an aristocracy.

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93. Sparta and Argos. — By the middle of the sixth century B.C. the league under the leadership of Sparta had come to include all Peloponnese excepting Achaea and Argolis. Toward the close of the prehistoric age Argos had taken the place of Mycenae as the head of Argolis, and under Pheidon, a brilliant king who reigned about 700 B.C., she aspired to rule all Peloponnese. After his death, however, she declined; and though she retained her old ambition for leadership, it became more and more difficult for her to hold her own against Sparta. About 550 B.C. the crisis came in a struggle between the two states for the possession of Cy-nu'ri-a, a strip of land held by Argos along the coast east of Mount Parnon. Three hundred champions for each state were to decide the contest; but after a day's fighting, only two Argives and one Spartan remained alive. Then a dispute as to which side had won the victory ended in a bloody battle, in which the Lacedaemonians were masters. This success gave them Cynuria and the island of Cy-the'ra and made them the foremost power among the states of Greece.

94. Sparta and Athens. — The Lacedaemonians advanced steadily in strength. Toward the end of the sixth century Megara joined their alliance. They aimed to extend their influence, especially by helping the nobles of various Greek states against the tyrants. Accordingly when the oracle at Delphi constantly told them that Athens must be set free,[1] Cleomenes, their king, undertook the work of expelling Hippias, doubtless in the hope that the Lacedaemonians would be able to control Athens after she had been liberated.

Disappointed in this hope, he gathered the forces of Peloponnese, and without stating his object, led them into Attica, while the Thebans and Chalcidians invaded the country in concert with him. Though inferior in number, the Athenians marched bravely forth to meet the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. Fortunately for Athens, the Corinthians, on learning the purpose of the expedition, refused to take part in it on the ground that it was unjust, and the other allies followed

[1] § 83.

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their example. As Cleomenes could then do nothing but retreat homeward, the Athenians turned about and defeated the Thebans and the Chalcidians separately on the same day. They punished Chalcis for the invasion by taking from her a large tract of land, on which they settled four thousand colonists. An *Athenian colony* was but an addition to Attica; and though it had a local government, its members remained citizens of Athens.

Some time afterward the Lacedaemonians *invited Hippias* to their city, called a congress of allies, and proposed to restore him. But the deputy from Corinth interposed in favor of Athens, and as the other allies agreed with him, Hippias returned disappointed to Sigeium and continued to plot with the Persians against his native land (§ 107). Soon afterward the Athenians secured their peace with Sparta by entering the Peloponnesian League. Their place in it was exceptionally favorable, as it allowed them complete independence.

95. The Political Condition of Greece (about 500 B.C.).—At the close of the period which we have now reviewed (about 750–500 B.C.), most of the Greek peninsula west and north of Boeotia was still occupied by barbarous or half-civilized tribes; as yet Thebes had accomplished nothing remarkable, and Argos had declined. The Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, mostly under tyrants, were disunited and weak; those of Asia Minor, as the following chapter will tell, acknowledged the Persian king as their master. Athens and Sparta had achieved more for the political development of Greece than any other cities. Attica was firmly united under a moderate democracy. At last the citizens were at peace with one another. They formed an effective militia, though as yet they had no fleet. They were intelligent, vigorous, and enthusiastic, ready for a life and death struggle if need be, in defence of Hellenic freedom. Though less active and less intelligent, the Spartans were the best trained and the steadiest soldiers in the world, and were prepared by lifelong discipline for facing death at the command of their country; they and their allies formed the great military power of Hellas. It

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was well that Athens and the Peloponnesian League had made so much progress in government and in military affairs, for they were soon to be called on to match themselves, almost unaided, with the vast strength of the Persian empire.

Literature, Philosophy, and Art[1]

96. Hesiod; Personal Poetry (700–479 B.C.).—While the Greeks were improving their armies and their governments, they were making progress in literature and art, and beginning philosophy.

Hes'i-od, an epic poet of Boeotia (about 700 B.C.), composed the *The-og'o-ny*, which tells in homely style of the birth of the gods and of the creation of the world. His *Works and Days*, another epic, gives the peasant useful information about agriculture, including the lucky and unlucky days for doing everything. It encourages thrift and abounds in moral maxims. Whereas Homer idealizes everything of which he sings, the aim of Hesiod is to tell the simple truth. Homer celebrates heroes of the remote past; Hesiod has to do with men in everyday life.

The early epics have little to tell of their authors; but in time it came about that poets expressed freely their own thoughts and feelings. Thus personal poetry arose. The age in which it flourished extends from the time of Hesiod to the end of the great war with Persia (700–479 B.C.).

The *elegy* is the earliest form of personal poetry. It arose in Ionia and was originally martial, sung to the flute, which resembles the modern clarinet. One of the earliest elegiac poets was Cal-li'nus of Eph'e-sus, born about 690 B.C. In battle-songs he roused his countrymen against a horde of invaders—

> "Each must go quick to the front,
> Grasping his spear in his hand and under his shield his untrembling
> Heart pressing, panting for fight, mingling in deadliest fray."

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit §§ 96–98.

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A little later, Tyrtaeus[1] of Sparta composed songs of the same nature.

The next form of personal poetry was the *iambic*, especially adapted to the expression of emotions, from love to sarcasm and hate. Its great master was Ar-chil'o-chus of the small island of Paros, a poet whom the Greeks ranked with Homer. He was the first great satirist. The story goes that a certain man promised his daughter, Ne-o-bu'le, to Archilochus in marriage, but broke his word; and then in revenge the poet with his biting iambics drove Neobule and her sisters to suicide.

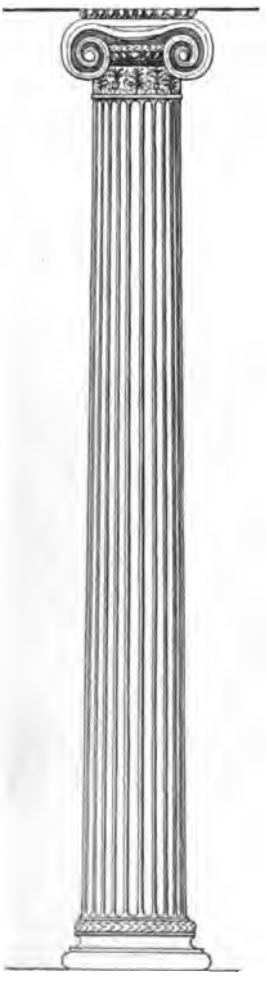
The last and highest form of personal poetry is the *lyric*, — the song accompanied by the lyre. The lyric poet composed the music as well as the words of his songs. There were two chief forms of this poetry: the ballad and the choral ode. The home of the ballad was Lesbos, and its great representatives were the Lesbic poets, Al-cae'us and Sappho (pron. Saf'fo), who belonged to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Alcaeus was "a fiery Aeolian noble," who composed songs of war, adventure, and party strife, love-songs, drinking-songs, and hymns. He was a versatile, brilliant poet. "Violet-crowned, pure, softly smiling Sappho," as her friend Alcaeus calls her, was his peer in genius. To the ancients she was "the poetess" as Homer was "the poet"; and sometimes they styled her the "tenth muse."



SAPPHO
(National Museum, Rome)

[1] § 91.

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AN IONIC COLUMN

Ballads were simple songs sung by individuals; but the choral ode was public and was sung by a trained chorus, who accompanied the music with dancing. The most eminent choral poet — perhaps the greatest purely lyric poet of the world — was Pindar of Boeotia (522–448 B.C.). As he belonged to a priestly family, he began even in childhood to fill his mind with myths and religious lore. His poems are made up of this material. Those which have been preserved are in honor of the victors in the great national games. The ode usually narrates some myth connected with the history of the victor's family or city; it glorifies noble birth, well-used wealth, justice, and all manner of virtue. Though difficult to read even in translations, these poems will repay the most careful study. The style is bold, rapid, and vital; his words glitter like jewels; he is always sublime.

Besides the poets mentioned there were many others who flourished in all parts of Greece. The works of some have utterly perished; of others we have mere shreds. There remain but fragments of Archilochus and Alcaeus. We have two poems of Sappho, in addition to fragments, and nearly a complete elegy by Callinus. Pindar has had the best fortune of all the poets of this age, for his best work has come down to us.

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97. The Beginnings of Philosophy. — The first philosopher was Tha'les, who lived at the time of Solon. He was a mathematician and astronomer, the first of the Greeks to predict accurately an eclipse of the sun. In his belief water was the one original substance out of which the world was formed. His idea was wrong; but in seeking a natural cause of things he advanced far beyond all earlier thinkers, who had contented themselves with mythical explanations of the world. Those who accepted his view formed the Ionian school of thought.

After him came other philosophers and schools of philosophy. Py-thag'o-ras, who laid great stress on mathematics, had many followers, who called themselves Py-thag-o-re'ans after their master. Another school, arising in this period, studied deeply into the nature of *being*. Thus the Greeks were making a beginning of philosophy and science, in which they were afterward to become the teachers of the world.



SECTION OF A TEMPLE AT SEGESTA
(To illustrate the Doric order)

98. Art; Architecture and Sculpture (700–479 B.C.). — To understand the structure of the Greek temple, it is necessary first to notice the three *orders of architecture*, — Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. They are distinguished chiefly by the column. The Doric column rests directly upon the temple floor, and has a simple, unadorned capital.[1] The Ionic column stands on an ornamental base and is surmounted by a capital in the form of a spiral roll. The beauty of the Doric style is severe and chaste; the Ionic is finer and more graceful. The former prevailed in European Greece; the latter in Asia Minor. The Cor-

[1] The capital is the head of the column.

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inthian order, with its capital of acanthus leaves, is still more elegant and ornamental than the Ionic. It was invented in the fifth century B.C., but did not come into extensive use till the Greek genius began to decline.

At first the Greeks did not imagine that their gods needed dwelling-houses, but as early as the seventh century B.C. they were building temples in all their cities. Some of the ruins at Se-li'nus,[1] Sicily, belong to the latter part of this century. Gradually the temples grew more and more symmetrical and graceful till they became models of beauty. That of Poseidon in *Po-si-do'ni-a*, southern Italy, belongs to the sixth century.[2] It is an impressive building with simple but massive Doric columns. The stone of which it is made is called travertine. As it is not so fine and smooth as marble, it was originally covered with stucco, which was then painted. Most of the stucco has fallen off, and the stone has changed to a rich, soft yellow of varying shade. Standing on a slight elevation, the temple faces the market-place on the east. Between the market and the temple the way was paved with stones, in which the myriads of feet that have walked to and fro for hundreds of years have worn deep paths.



CORINTHIAN CAPITAL
(From Epidaurus)

There are two principal kinds of *sculpture*, — reliefs and statues. Reliefs are figures carved on the surface of stone. They are

[1] § 157. [2] p. 65.

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adapted especially to the decoration of three parts of the temple, — (1) pediments, or gables, (2) met'o-pes, the flat squares which run in a series round the exterior of the temple above the columns, and (3) the frieze, a flat surface forming a continuous band around the temple within the colonnade.

Some of the metopes from a temple at Selinus, now in the Museum of Pa-ler'mo, Sicily, were made about 600 B.C. One represents Perseus cutting off Medusa's head.[1] Behind him stands his protecting goddess Athena. The work is very crude. The heads, arms, and legs are much too large; the bodies are distorted; the eyes stare; the faces lack expression. Equally rude are the statues carved at the time. It is a wonderful fact that within the next hundred and fifty years the Greeks were to bring sculpture from these crude beginnings to a height of perfection never afterward reached in the history of the world. And in the study of Grecian history from this period onward it is well to keep in mind the rapidity with which the Greeks made improvements in nearly every field of thought and action.

Topics for Reading

I. Spartan Education. — Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15–21; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 130–134; Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 211–217.

II. The Social Classes. — Abbott, i. pp. 217–219; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 178–180.

III. The Peloponnesian League. — Bury, pp. 202–204; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, pp. 108–115; Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*, pp. 81–91.

[1] § 45.

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CHAPTER VII

CONQUEST OF ASIATIC GREECE BY THE LYDIANS AND THE PERSIANS (560–490 B.C.)

99. Character of the Ionians. — Although successful in developing government and the art of war, the Athenians as well as the Lacedaemonians were thus far inferior to the Greeks of Asia Minor in the finer elements of civilization. Aeolis and Ionia were the home of the first great poets of Greece. The earliest geographers, historians, and philosophers were Ionians. The same people took the lead in useful inventions: the Ionians were the first of the Greeks to coin money; their ships plied the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Massalia, and from Cyrene to their colonies on the Black Sea. For five hundred years (about 1000–494 B.C.) they were the standard-bearers of Hellenic civilization.

But though admirable for their many excellent qualities, the Ionians were lacking in political ability. There was civil strife within the cities, and almost continual war between one state and another. Cities and men had their own ideals and pursued their own plans, regardless of the interests of the country as a whole. The communities rarely acted together, and could not think of joining in one strong state. They loved complete independence for their towns and enjoyed the privilege of making war on their neighbors as the diversion of a summer; yet they were a commercial people, not fond of long-continued military service. Their character was their political ruin. It is no wonder that they proved inferior to the empires of Asia, based as these were on unthinking submission to one all-controlling will.

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100. Croesus, King of Lydia (560–546 B.C.) and Cyrus, King of Persia (558–529 B.C.). — As long as there was no great foreign power in their neighborhood, these Asiatic Greeks remained free. But gradually Lydia, in the interior, became a strong state. Croe'sus, who ascended the throne of this country in 560 B.C., admired the Greeks and wished to have them as willing subjects; but when they resisted, he waged war upon them and conquered them with no great difficulty. He ruled them well, however, as he sought to gain their favor and support against the rising power of Persia. He stole his way into their affections by making costly presents to their gods, especially to Apollo at Delphi. He courted the friendship of Lacedaemon, the strongest state in Greece, and gave the Spartans gold with which to make a statue of Apollo. Under Croesus, Lydia reached its height in wealth and power. His treasury was full of gold dust from the sands of the Lydian rivers and of tributes from the cities he had conquered; and as he was the wealthiest he supposed himself to be the happiest man on earth. His empire had come to include all Asia Minor west of the Halys River; but it was destined soon to become a part of the far vaster Persian empire, and the happy monarch was doomed to end his life in captivity.

Croesus had ruled Lydia but two years when Cyrus[1] became King of Persia, then a province of the Median empire. He was a great general and statesman, and his Persian subjects were brave, strong mountaineers.[2] Cyrus threw off the Median yoke, conquered the Median empire, and made Persia the leading state in Asia. Babylonia, Egypt, Lacedaemon, and Lydia united against him; but Cyrus was too quick to allow his enemies to bring their forces together. Marching rapidly against Croesus, the Persian king conquered him, took him captive for life, and added the Lydian empire to his own.

Cyrus then returned to the East, leaving his lieutenant Har'pa-gus to conquer the Greeks of Asia Minor. As the cities would not unite in defence of freedom, they fell one by one into his hands. Some of

1 [1] § 26. [2] § 29.

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the inhabitants sailed away to found colonies where they could be free, but most of them surrendered when attacked by Harpagus.

101. Cambyses and Darius, Kings of Persia (529–522, 522–485 B.C.). — The Persian yoke was far more oppressive than the Lydian had been. For the king of Persia insisted that the Greek cities should be ruled by tyrants, through whom he expected to keep his new subjects obedient; and in addition to the payment of tribute they now had to serve in the Persian armies. Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus, required them accordingly to help him conquer Egypt. And when Darius, the following king, was preparing to invade Europe at the head of a great army,[1] he ordered the tyrants of the Greek cities to furnish six hundred ships and their crews for his use. He crossed the Bosporus on a bridge of boats arranged for him by a Greek engineer. Meanwhile the tyrants with their fleet sailed up the Danube and bridged the river with their boats that Darius might be able to cross; for he was marching against the *Scyth'i-ans*, a people without settled homes, who roamed about in the country north of the Danube and the Black Sea. It was galling to the Greeks to perform such compulsory service, as they felt it a shame to be slaves of the Persians while their kinsmen in Europe were free. Even some of the tyrants, voicing the spirit of their subjects, proposed to cut off the return of Darius by breaking up the bridge he had left in their keeping. Mil-ti'a-des, an Athenian, who was then tyrant of Cher-so-nese', a dependency of Athens, favored the plan; but His-ti-ae'us, despot of Miletus, persuaded the tyrants that the people would depose them if they should lose the support of the Persian king, and in this manner he led them to vote against the proposal.

102. The Ionic Revolt (499–494 B.C.). — The king rewarded Histiaeus for his loyalty with a grant of land on the Stry'mon River in Thrace, and afterward required him to come to Susa, to pass the

[1] The estimate of Herodotus iv. 87, is seven hundred thousand men — doubtless a great exaggeration.

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remainder of his life as a courtier in the palace. To the ambitious Greek the life at court was no better than exile. Desiring therefore to return to his native land, he sent a secret message to his son-in-law, Ar-is-tag'o-ras, then tyrant of Miletus, urging him to revolt. The latter needed little pressure from his father-in-law, for he was already thinking of taking this step. He had promised the Persians to conquer Naxos, and had received help from them on this assurance; but failing in his attempt, he now felt that he should be punished for not keeping his word. He decided accordingly to take the lead in a revolt which he knew was threatening. His first step was to resign his tyranny and give Miletus a democratic government. He then helped depose the tyrants of the neighboring cities, and in a few weeks all Ionia followed him in a rebellion against Darius.

Aristagoras spent the next winter in *looking about for allies*. First he went to Sparta and addressed King Cleomenes as follows: "That the sons of the Ionians should be slaves instead of free is a reproach and grief most of all indeed for ourselves, but of all others most to you, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Hellas. Now, therefore, I entreat you by the gods of Hellas to rescue from slavery the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen: and ye may easily achieve this, for the foreigners are not valiant in fight, whereas ye have attained to the highest point of valor in war: and their fighting is of this fashion, namely, with bows and arrows and a short spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they may easily be conquered. Then, again, they who occupy that continent have good things in such quantities as not all the other nations in the world possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves; all which ye might have for yourselves if ye so desired."[1]

Aristagoras then proceeded to indicate the location of the various Asiatic nations on a map traced on a plate of bronze, the first the

[1] Herodotus v. 49. This speech gives a truthful summary of the facts except in one particular,—the Persians were not cowardly; § 29.

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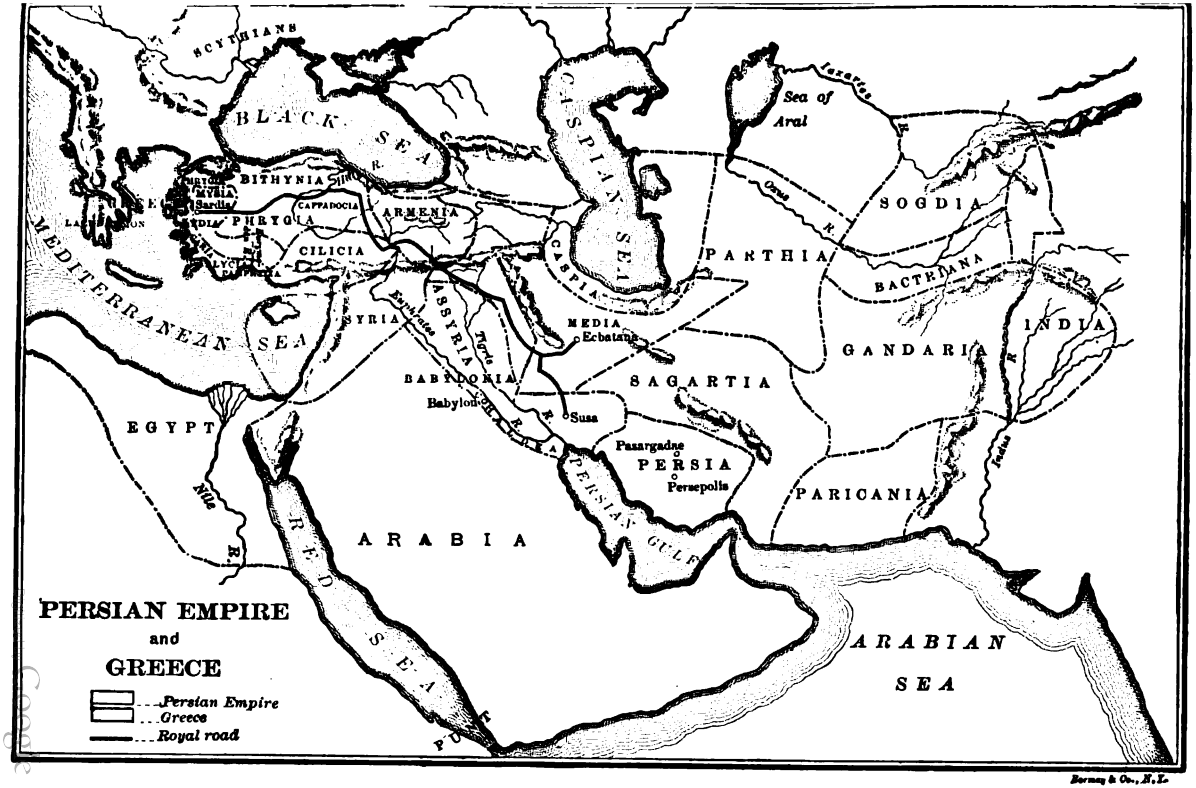
Spartans had ever seen. He tried to show how easily the Lacedaemonians could conquer the whole Persian empire. "How long a journey is it from the Ionian coast to the Persian capital?" Cleomenes asked. "A three months' journey," Aristagoras answered incautiously. "Guest-Friend from Miletus," the Spartan king interrupted, "get thee away from Sparta before the sun has set; for thou speakest a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedaemonians, desiring to take them on a journey of three months from the sea." The smooth Ionian then tried to win him with a bribe, but was frustrated by the king's daughter, Gorgo, a child of eight or nine years of age, who exclaimed, "Father, the stranger will harm thee, if thou do not leave him and go!"

Aristagoras then went to Athens, where he found his task easier. The Athenians were near kinsmen of the Ionians and in close commercial relations with them. And recently the governor of Sardis had ordered the Athenians to take back Hippias as their tyrant, if they wished to escape destruction. They had refused, and felt in consequence that a state of war now existed between them and Persia. They therefore sent twenty ships to help the Ionians, and their neighbor, Eretria, sent five.

103. The War of the Revolt (498–494 B.C.). — The allies captured and burned Sardis, the most important city under Persian control in Asia Minor. Then as they were on their way back to Ionia, the Persians attacked and defeated them near Ephesus. This so thoroughly discouraged the Athenians that they returned home and would give no more help.

The burning of Sardis encouraged the rest of the Asiatic Greeks to join in the revolt, but at the same time stirred Darius to greater exertions for putting it down, and angered him especially against Athens and Eretria. The decisive battle of the war was fought at *La'de*, off Miletus (497 B.C.). The Greeks had three hundred and fifty-three ships; the Phoenicians in the service of Persia had six hundred. Yet the Greeks would certainly have won the day, if they had shown the

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right spirit; but they were disunited, and allowed themselves to be influenced by secret agents from the enemy. At the very opening of the battle, many ships treacherously sailed away, and though a few remained and fought bravely, the battle was lost. United resistance was now at an end, and the separate states were subdued one by one or surrendered to avoid attack. The Persians brought the war to a close by the capture of Miletus (494 B.C.) after a siege of four years. They plundered and burned the city, together with its temples, and carried the people into captivity. Thus they blotted out of existence the fairest city of Hellas, the city which up to this time had done most in building up European civilization. Though it was again inhabited by Greeks, it never regained its former splendor.

104. Effect of the War on Athens. — The expedition of Darius into Europe had resulted in the conquest of Thrace, which however rebelled in imitation of the Ionians. After suppressing the Ionic revolt the Persians immediately proceeded against Thrace. As the Phoenician fleet approached Chersonese, Miltiades, the ruler, fled in his triremes loaded with wealth. Though the Phoenicians hotly pursued him, he came safe to Athens. He found his native city greatly disturbed by the recent events in Ionia. A strong party led by Hipparchus, a near kinsman of Hippias, wished to secure peace with Darius by recalling the exiled tyrant, and if need be, by sending the king "earth and water," the tokens of submission. Opposed to the tyrant's party were the republicans, who upheld the form of government established by Cleisthenes, and were ready to fight for their country against Persia. As Archon for 493 B.C. they elected *Themis'to-cles*, their leader, a man of wonderful energy and intelligence. Heretofore the Athenians had moored their ships in the open bay of Phal-e'rum, but Themistocles occupied his term of office in making the triple harbor of Pei-rae'us ready for a navy. He believed that war with Persia could not be avoided, and intended that Athens should have a navy-yard and a powerful fleet; for it would be neces-

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sary to meet not only the Persian army on land, but also the combined fleets of the Phoenicians and the Asiatic Greeks on the sea.

105. Darius plans to conquer Greece; the Condition of Greece (493–490 B.C.). — While Themistocles was busy with his harbor, Mar-do'ni-us, son-in-law of Darius, was marching through Thrace at the head of a large army, accompanied by a fleet along the shore. In rounding Mount A'thos the ships were wrecked, and at the same time his troops were slaughtered by the natives. Mardonius expected to conquer the whole Greek peninsula, but only retook Thrace and received the submission of Macedon. The failure of his enterprise brought him into disgrace at the Persian court.



"THEMISTOCLES"
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

Darius now made ready another expedition, meanwhile *sending heralds* among those Greek communities which were still free, to demand "earth and water." There was no need, Darius thought, of attacking those who would willingly submit. The Athenians, however, threw the king's herald into a pit, and the Spartans dropped the one who came to them into a well, bidding them take earth and water thence to their lord. Those who advised this act must have wished to remove even the possibility of reconciliation with Persia; for the Athenians and Spartans, by mistreating the heralds, violated the law of nations and placed themselves beyond the pale of the great king's grace.

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ÆGINA

(Temple of Athena in the distance.)

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Greece was to be at a great disadvantage in the coming war with Persia, because her states could not bring themselves to act together. In most of them were strong factions which favored the Persians. Many of them immediately yielded through fear. Commercial jealousy of Athens prompted Ae-gi'na to send earth and water to the king; through jealousy of Sparta, Argos favored the Persian cause. Within the Peloponnesian League alone was unity. In the face of common danger men began for the first time to talk of obligations of loyalty to Greece, and to recognize Sparta as an authority with legal power to enforce loyal conduct. In this manner the patriots created in imagination an ideal Hellas, united and free, looking to Sparta as leader. She, alone of all the Greek cities, thus far had shown a genius for organization and command; and it was with perfect justice therefore that all looked to her in this crisis as the head of Greece.

Topics for Reading

I. The Story of Croesus and Solon. — Herodotus i. 29–33; Plutarch, *Solon*, 27, 28.

II. Character of the Persians. — Rawlinson, *Seven Great Monarchies*, Fifth Monarchy, chs. iii, vi, vii; Ragozin, *Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia*, pp. 275–277.

III. The Battle of Lade. — Herodotus vi. 6–18.

IV. Themistocles. — Plutarch, *Themistocles*; Thucydides i. 138.

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MARATHON

CHAPTER VIII

WAR WITH PERSIA AND CARTHAGE (490–479 B.C.)

106. Invasion of Datis and Artaphernes. — In the summer of 490 B.C. the Persian armament, which had long been preparing, moved westward across the Aegean Sea, receiving the submission of the islanders on the way. It consisted of six hundred ships carrying an army of perhaps sixty thousand men. Da'tis, a Mede, and Ar-ta-pher'nes, a kinsman of Darius, were in command. Their object was to punish Athens and Eretria for helping the Ionian revolt, and to conquer whatever territory they could for their lord.

As the Persians came near, the Eretrians were in doubt as to what they should do. Some proposed to surrender, and others to flee to the mountains; but finally they decided to await an attack on their walls. After a brave defence of six days, they were betrayed by two of their fellow-citizens.

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Eretrian fugitives who brought the sad news to Athens found the city full of the spirit of resistance. Her heavy infantry, composed of landowners, was well trained in the use of arms.[1] It was a happy omen, too, for Athens that among her generals for the year was Miltiades, who had proved his ability as ruler of Chersonese, and was well acquainted with Persian warfare. As soon as he and the other generals heard that the enemy were moving against Attica, they gathered their entire force, and despatched Phi-dip'pi-des, a swift, long-distance runner, to Sparta to ask help. He reached Sparta, a hundred and fifty miles distant, the day after starting. "Men of Lacedaemon," he said to the authorities, "the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state which is the most ancient in all Greece to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive, and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city."[2] The Lacedaemonians, though they wished to help the Athenians, had to wait several days before setting out, as a law forbade them to go to war in any month before the full moon.



"THE WARRIOR OF MARATHON"

107. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — After sacking Eretria, the Persians, under the guidance of the aged Hippias,[3] landed at Marathon. The Athenian army, led by the polemarch and the ten generals, went to meet them. The polemarch had the nominal command, but the real leader was Miltiades. He attacked the Persians in the plain not far from the landing. When the Athenians had come within bow-shot of the enemy, they charged at a

[1] § 95. [2] Herodotus vi. 106. [3] § 94.

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double-quick march, so anxious were they to reach the Persians with their spears and avoid the showers of arrows. The Persians, who were unprepared for fighting hand to hand, were compelled to retire to their ships with great loss. The Athenians "were the first of the Hellenes, so far as we know, who attacked the enemy at a run, and they were the first to face the *Median garments* and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear."[1] They gained this great victory practically by themselves; for the Plataeans alone of their neighbors had come to their aid. The Lacedaemonians, starting after the full moon, reached Athens by a forced march, yet too late to be of service.

This was perhaps *the most important battle yet fought in the history of the world.* In the wars among the great powers of the Orient, it made little difference to the world which gained the victory, they were so nearly alike in character and civilization. The same may be said of the petty strife always going on among the Greek states. But at Marathon, Europe and Asia, represented by Greece and Persia respectively, came into conflict; and the question at issue was whether Europe should be brought under the control of Asiatic government and Asiatic ideas.[2] The civilizations of the opposing forces were totally different. The whole life of the Greek rested upon the political, social, and religious freedom of man, whereas that of the Asiatics depended upon slavish obedience to authority, — the authority of priests and king. It was well for the future of the world, therefore, that the Greeks triumphed at Marathon. They were no braver than the Persians; but their freedom gave them spirit, and their intelligence provided them with superior arms, organization, and training. The victory encouraged Greece to hope

[1] Herodotus vi. 112.

[2] Had the Persians become the dominant power in Europe, they would probably not have crushed Greek civilization, but would have hindered its extension, — Europe would have become Oriental.

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for success in the greater conflict with Persia, which was soon to come, and inspired the Athenians ever afterward to brave danger in the forefront of Hellas.

108. The End of Miltiades. — Miltiades now stood at the summit of fame. He thought the present moment favorable for building up the Athenian power and wealth at the expense of the islanders who had sided with the king. So he planned an expedition against Paros, and asked the Athenians for ships and men, promising to make them rich but not telling them just what he intended to do. He sailed with his fleet to Paros and demanded a contribution of a hundred talents. As the Parians refused to pay anything, he besieged them without effect for nearly a month, and then returned wounded to Athens, to disappoint the hopes of all. His enemies found in his failure an opportunity to assail him. Xan-thip'pus, leader of the republican party,[1] prosecuted him for having deceived the people. The penalty would have been death; but because of Miltiades' great services to the state, it was lightened to a fine of fifty talents. He died of his wound, and the fine was paid by his son Cimon.

In attempting to divide fairly the blame of this unhappy event between Militiades and the Athenians, we are to bear in mind that it was the failure of the enterprise rather than its unworthy object which angered the Athenians; and that, on the other hand, from his whole life and training as well as from his self-will and his personal ambition, Miltiades was dangerous to the state. Had he succeeded in his plan, he might have made himself tyrant of Athens.

109. Aristeides and Themistocles. — The republicans gathered strength from the victory at Marathon and even from the overthrow of Miltiades. By ostracizing Hipparchus and other prominent friends of Hippias,[2] they utterly disorganized the tyrant's faction. Meanwhile they dealt the nobles a heavy blow by changing the

[1] § 104. [2] §§ 94, 104.

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mode of appointment to the nine archonships. Before 487 B.C. the archons had been elected; henceforth they were to be appointed by lot. The change degraded these old aristocratic offices by opening them to men of inferior ability. From this time the polemarch ceased to have even nominal command of the army, and the ten generals took the place of the nine archons as the chief magistrates of Athens. Who the author of this measure was we do not know; it may have been Ar-is-tei'des, for there can be no doubt that afterward he devoted his whole energy to the task of making the Athenian government a pure democracy. In opposition to the measure the nobles and their friends formed a new conservative party, whereas the men who brought about the change composed the new democratic party.

The democratic leaders, Aristeides and Themistocles, soon disagreed as to the best way of using the revenues from the silver mines of Laurium in southeastern Attica. Aristeides, satisfied with the army which had won the battle of Marathon, was evidently willing that the old custom of dividing the revenues among the citizens should continue. Themistocles, on the other hand, was determined that Athens should have a navy to protect her from the Persian attacks by sea and to make her a great power in Greece.[1] Aristeides was ostracised (483 B.C.); and with the support of the merchants Themistocles carried his plan through the assembly. The state built two hundred triremes,[2] which proved to be the chief means of winning a great naval victory over the Persians and of making Athens the head of a maritime empire. To bring about this result Themistocles had to teach the Athenians that they should support the state rather than be supported by it, and should sacrifice their own selfish interests to the glory of their country, — in brief, he had to remake his fellow-citizens after the pattern of his own grand ideal. Measured by its far-reaching effects upon Greece and the world, the creation of an Athenian navy by Themistocles was one

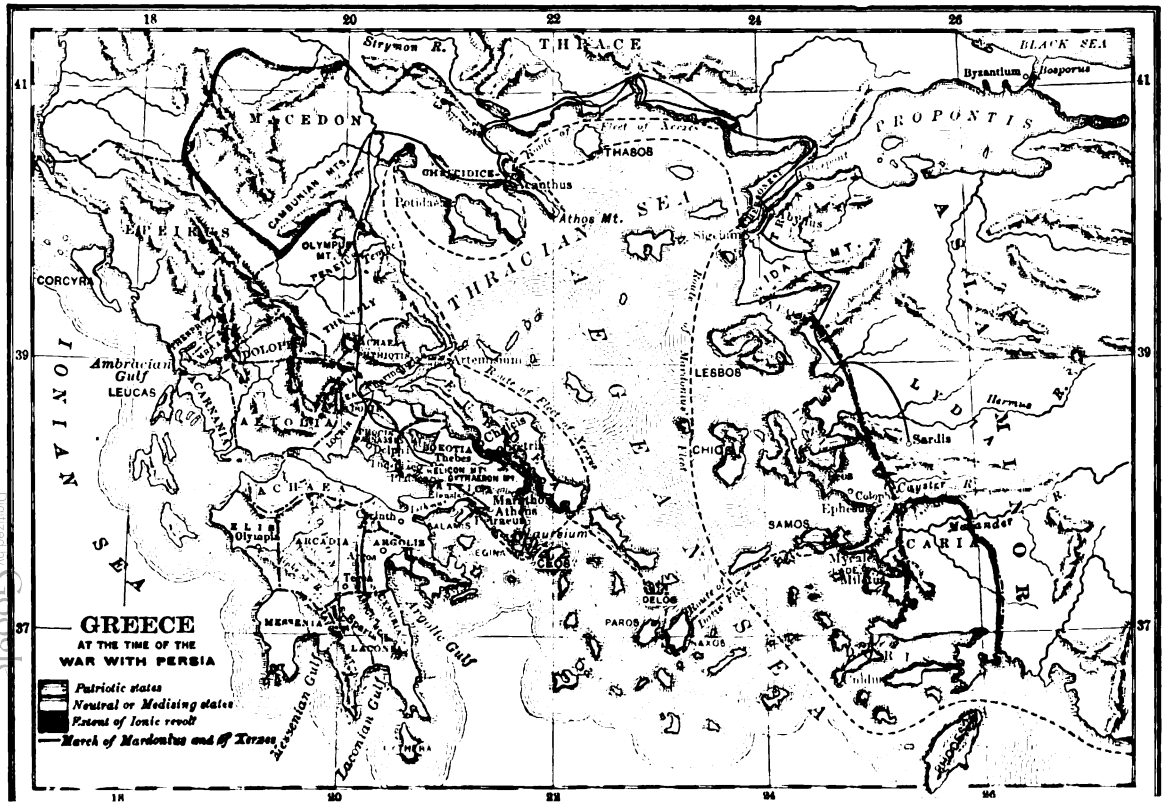
[1] § 104. [2] Vessels with three banks of oars; p. 139.

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GREECE
AT THE TIME OF THE
WAR WITH PERSIA
Patriotic states
Neutral or Medising states
Extent of Ionic revolt
March of Mardonius and of Xerxes
THRACE
MACEDON
EPEIROS
THESSALY
BOEOTIA
ATTICA
ACHAIA
ELIS
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
MESSENIA
LACONIA
CORCYRA
LEUCAS
Ambracian Gulf
IONIAN SEA
THRACIAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
CRETAN SEA
PROPONTIS
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
Hosporus
Strymon R.
Athos Mt.
THASOS
LESBOS
CHIOS
SAMOS
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
Sardis
Hermus R.
Caystar R.
Maeander R.
CARIA
LYDIA
Olympus Mt.
Pindus Mts.
Parnassus Mt.
Ida Mt.
Thermopylae
Marathon
Athens
Piraeus
Salamis
Corinth
Argos
Sparta
Thebes
Delphi
Eleusis
Aegina
Artemisium
Sicyon
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Rhodes
Melos
Thera
Laconian Gulf
Messenian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Corinthian Gulf
Euripus
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Aegaleos
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Lycaeum
Mt. Cyllene
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Cambunian Mts.
Route of Fleet of Xerxes
Route of Fleet of Mardonius
Route of Army of Xerxes
Route of Army of Mardonius
18
20
22
24
26
41
39
37

of the most magnificent achievements of statesmanship known to ancient history.

110. Preparations for another Invasion of Greece. — "Now when the report came to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, of the battle which was fought at Marathon, the king who even before this had been greatly exasperated with the Athenians on account of the attack made upon Sardis, then far more than before displayed indignation, and was far more desirous of making a march against Hellas. Immediately he sent messengers, therefore, to the various cities of his empire and ordered that they should get ready a force, appointing to each people to supply much more than at the former time, and not only ships of war, but also horses and provisions and transport vessels; and when these commands were carried round, all Asia was moved for three years, for all the best men were being enlisted for the expedition against Hellas, and were making preparations. In the fourth year, however, the Egyptians, who had been conquered by Cambyses, revolted against the Persians; and then Darius was even more desirous of marching against both these nations."[1]

About this time (485 B.C.) Darius died, and Xerxes, his son and successor, after reconquering Egypt, continued his preparation for the invasion of Greece. In the spring of 481 B.C. the nations of his empire were pouring their armed forces into Asia Minor, and the autumn of the year found Xerxes with his vast host encamped for the winter at Sardis. Provisions were being stored along the way, and his engineers were bridging the Hellespont with boats. We do not know how large his army was, but it certainly did not exceed three hundred thousand serviceable troops. On the sea was a fleet of about twelve hundred ships manned by Greeks, Phoenicians, and Egyptians. The invasion was to bring Greece into great peril; for Xerxes hoped to win by sheer force of numbers.

111. Union of the Loyal Greeks. — While Xerxes was in camp at Sardis, his messengers came to the Greek states demanding earth

[1] Herodotus vii. 1.

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and water, and received these tokens of submission from many of them. But none came to Athens and Sparta, as they were to be punished for their treatment of the heralds sent by Darius. A council of the loyal states met on the Isthmus to plan for the defence of Greece. This union was practically an enlargement of the Peloponnesian League under the leadership of Sparta. The States represented in the council agreed under oath to wage war in common for the protection of their liberties. They also reconciled their enmities with one another, and sent spies to Sardis and envoys to the other Greek states to invite them to join the League. Xerxes, capturing the spies, showed them round his camp and sent them home unharmed. The envoys to the Greek states were less successful. Argos, through hostility to Sparta, held aloof from the union and doubtless prayed for the success of the Persians. The Cor-cy-rae'ans promised their navy, but lingered selfishly on the way till the war was decided. Ge'lon, tyrant of Syracuse, was requested to give help; but he was busy preparing to meet a Carthaginian invasion (§ 116).

The plan of the allies was to build a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth and to make their main defence there. It was a narrow policy, directed by the Lacedaemonian ephors. As Xerxes approached the Hellespont in the spring of 480 B.C., the allies made a feeble attempt to defend Thessaly against him by posting an army in the vale of Tempe. On the withdrawal of this army, the Thessalians went over to the enemy.

112. The Battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium (480 B.C.). — To prevent central Greece from following the example of the Thessalians, the ephors sent King Le-on'i-das with three hundred heavy-armed Spartans and a few thousand allies to hold the pass of Ther-mop'y-lae, and thus shut Xerxes out from central Greece. They professed to believe that he could hold the pass till the Olympic games were over. Then, they said, they would take the field in full force. The fleet, comprising the squadrons of the various cities of the League, sailed to Artemisium to coöperate with the army at

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Thermopylae. Each squadron was under its own admiral, and the whole fleet was commanded by the Spartan Eu-ry-bi'a-des.

The Persians failed to carry Leonidas' position by assault, for their numbers did not count in the narrow pass. The discipline of the Greeks, their strong defensive armor, and their long spears might have held the hordes of Xerxes in check for an indefinite time, had not the Persians gained the rear of the pass through the treachery of a Greek. Most of the allies then withdrew; but Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans and a few allies remained and prepared for a death struggle. The contrast between the Greeks and the Orientals was at its height at Thermopylae: on one side, the Persian officers scourged their men to battle; on the other, the Spartans voluntarily met their death in obedience to law.



"The Lacedaemonians are the best of all men when fighting in a body; for though free, yet they are not free in all things, since over them is set law as a master. They certainly do whatever that master commands; and he always bids them not flee in battle from any multitude of men, but stay at their post, and win the victory or lose their lives."[1] The dead were buried where they fell, and above the three hundred was placed this epitaph: "Stranger, tell the Lacedaemonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws."

Meanwhile a storm off the Magnesian coast had destroyed a third of the Persian navy. This enormous loss to the enemy encouraged

[1] Herodotus vii. 104.

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the wavering admirals of Greece to maintain their station at *Ar-te-mis'i-um;* and though they learned that the Persians had sent two hundred ships round Euboea to cut off their retreat, they were now ready for battle. After the Greeks had destroyed or captured several Persian vessels, night closed the engagement. Fortunately for the Greeks, another storm wrecked the hostile squadron in their rear, and thus enabled them to concentrate their whole fleet of over three



BAY OF SALAMIS

hundred ships against the enemy. On the following day, accordingly, the two navies in full force put to sea against each other. The battle was indecisive; but the Greeks lost so heavily that their admirals had already resolved to retreat when a messenger came with news of the defeat at Thermopylae. It was now clear that the fleet could no longer maintain its position.

113. The March of Xerxes to Athens. — Xerxes was now moving through central Greece toward Athens. Nearly all the states west of Attica submitted and sent their troops to reënforce his army. The

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men of Delphi, according to their own account, hid the treasures of Apollo in a cave and prepared to resist the Persian corps which had come to pillage their temple; then some god aided them by bringing a thunder-storm and hurling great crags down Mount Parnassus upon the advancing enemy. In this way, they said, Apollo defended his holy shrine.

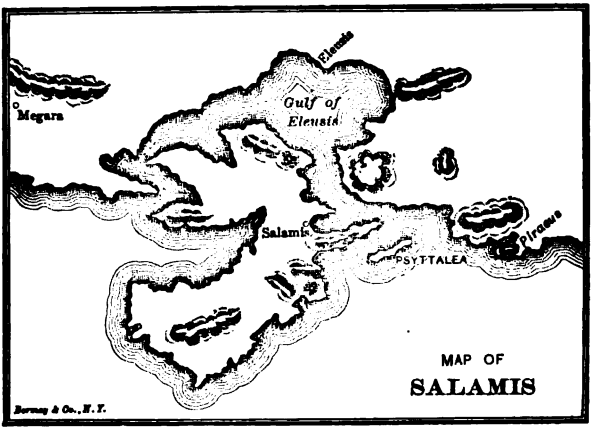
The Greek fleet paused at Sal'a-mis to help the Athenians remove their families and property to places of safety. This was their last resource, as the Peloponnesians were bent on defending only Peloponnese. Indeed, the other admirals wished to hurry on to the Isthmus; but Themistocles would not go with his fleet, and the others felt they could not afford to lose it. On entering his city Themistocles found it in despair. Some time before this the Athenians had sent to consult the Delphic oracle with respect to the approaching war, and a dreadful answer had come foretelling utter ruin. The Athenian messengers besought a more favorable reply, saying they would remain in the shrine till their death if it were not granted. Then the god grew merciful and gave a little hope: —

"Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with excellent counsel.
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer:
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops
Holds within it, and all which divine Ci-thae'ron shelters,
Then far-seeing Jove grants this to the prayers of Athena;
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children.
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footman mightily moving
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

114. The Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). — Some thought that the "wooden wall" was the fence about the Acropolis; but Themistocles said no, it meant the ships, and thus he induced the Athenians to quit their homes and place all their hopes in the fleet. Themis-

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tocles was the soul of resistance to Persia. His resourceful mind supplied courage, unity, and religious faith. He was now determined that the battle between Asia and Europe should be fought in the bay of Salamis. First, he exhausted the resources of eloquence and argument to persuade the admirals that here was the most favorable place for the fight; but when arguments and even threats failed, he secretly advised the enemy to block the Greeks up in the bay. By following his advice, Xerxes compelled the Greeks to fight. The three



hundred and seventy-eight Greek triremes, nearly half of which were manned by Athenians, had to face a fleet twice as large. But in the narrow strait superiority in number was a disadvantage, — closely crowded together, the enemy's ships were unable to manœuvre, and even wrecked one another by collision. While on the left wing the Athenians were putting the Phoenician ships to flight, the Aeginetans on the right forced their way along the shore of Salamis to assail the enemy in the flank and rear. After lasting all day the battle ended in a glorious victory for the Greeks. The Asiatic fleet was so thoroughly crippled that it could no longer endanger Greece.

Xerxes quickly withdrew from Europe, leaving Mardonius in com-

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mand of three hundred thousand troops. The contest on land was deferred to the following summer; but the Persian cause was strengthened by the departure of Xerxes, and the real crisis was yet to come.

115. The Battles of Plataea and Mycale (479 B.C.).—The invaders had destroyed Athens; so that when the Athenians returned to their city they found it in ruins. Though they might during the winter have made good terms with the enemy, they remained loyal to Hellas, only urging that the Peloponnesian army should be displayed as soon as possible in Boeotia. In the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius moved from his winter quarters in Thessaly into central Greece, and the Athenians again abandoned their city. Some of the Peloponnesians were at home; others were busy working on the Isthmian wall, behind which they still planned to make their defence. With urging and threats the Athenians finally induced the ephors of Sparta to put forth their whole military strength in defence of central Greece. Pau-sa'ni-as, regent for the young son of Leonidas, brought to the Isthmus five thousand heavy-armed Spartans, as many heavy-armed perioeci, and forty thousand light-armed helots. There the allied troops from Peloponnese joined him, and at Eleusis he was further reënforced by eight thousand Athenians under Aristeides. Herodotus estimates the Persian army at three hundred thousand, the Greek at a little more than one hundred thousand.[1] Mardonius retired to Boeotia, and Pausanias followed him. The Persians encamped northeast of Pla-tae'a on a level spot which would give room for the movements of their cavalry. The Greek commander took a position on a height above them; but encouraged by a successful skirmish with the Persian horsemen, he came down to the plain and placed himself between the enemy and Plataea. There the armies faced each other twelve days, neither daring to open battle. But after the Persian cavalry had damaged a spring on which the Greeks de-

[1] Probably the forces were considerably smaller than he states.

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pended for water, Pausanias decided to retire in the night to a more favorable position near Plataea. Mardonius, who thought this movement a retreat, made haste to attack. When the Persians overtook the Greeks and saw them face about, they made a barricade of their long shields by fastening the lower ends in the ground, and from behind this defence they poured their destructive arrows upon the Greeks. The critical moment had come; Pausanias gave the word, and his men rushed at full speed upon the foe. In the hand-to-hand fight here, as at Marathon, the athletic soldiers of Greece easily overcame the ill-armed, unskilful men of Asia.



A PERSIAN ARCHER

In the summer of the same year, the Greek fleet was tempted across the Aegean by the Samians, who wished to revolt against Persia. About the time of the battle at Plataea, — Herodotus says on the same day, — the crews of the Greek vessels landed at Myc'a-le and gained a victory over a greatly superior force of the Persians. The battle of Plataea freed continental Greece from fear of Persian conquest; that at Mycale pointed unmistakably to the liberation from Persian influence of the whole Aegean region east and north.

116. The War with Carthage; Battle of Himera (480 B.C.). — Meanwhile the Sicilian Greeks were at war with Carthage. The Phoenicians, who had founded this city, were originally an industrial and trading people with little taste for war.[1] But to defend

[1] § 22.

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their commercial position in the western Mediterranean they had recently begun on a large scale to hire troops from foreign countries. With her great army of mercenaries Carthage now aimed to win back the lands she had been compelled to yield to the Greeks. About the time that Xerxes was crossing the Hellespont, Ham-il'car, king of Carthage, landing at Pan-or'mus, advanced toward Him'e-ra with an army of perhaps three hundred thousand men. He was met and defeated near Himera by Gelon,[1] tyrant of Syracuse, with the help of allies from the cities of southern Sicily. The story is told that all day long as the battle raged, the prophet-king of Carthage stood apart from his host, offering victims to the gods, and that at last to appease the angry powers who seemed to be siding with the foe, he threw himself a living sacrifice into the flames.

117. Results of the War with Persia and Carthage. — The victory at Himera led to a treaty, according to which the western Greeks and the Carthaginians were to retain their former possessions. In eastern Greece the war with Persia continued for some years after the battles of Plataea and Mycale for the liberation of those Greeks who had been subject to Xerxes. The victory in the east was won by the enthusiasm of free citizens; that in the west by mercenaries in the service of tyrants. Yet the conflict in both parts created a democratic spirit, which in the east made the existing constitutions still more popular, and in the west overturned tyranny and set up republican governments. The war with Persia and Carthage did much to unite the states of Hellas: Sparta remained for a time the political centre of the east[2] and Syracuse of the west. Finally, the victorious Greeks, filled with energy and confidence by their unexpected success, now entered upon their great age in literature, art, and politics.

[1] § 111.

[2] Till 461 B.C., when the leadership came to be divided between Athens and Sparta.

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Topics for Reading

I. Marathon. — Herodotus vi. 107–117; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 247–254; Grundy, *Great Persian War*, pp. 180–191.

II. Thermopylae. — Herodotus vii. 201–232; Cox, *Greeks and Persians*, pp. 161–168; Abbott, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 151–161.

III. Salamis. — Herodotus viii. 40–97: Cox, pp. 173–183; Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 55–59; Abbott, ii. pp. 177–191.



A Greek Athlete

(After Lysippus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great; Vatican Museum, Rome)

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ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

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CHAPTER IX

THE AGE OF CIMON (479–461 B.C.)

118. Fortification of Athens and of Peiraeus (479, 476 B.C.). — As soon as all danger from the Persians was over, the Athenians returned home and began to rebuild their city and its walls. They had sacrificed more than all the other Greeks together in the cause of Hellenic freedom. But instead of sympathizing with them in their misfortune, some of the Greek states, doubtless through jealousy, complained of Athens to Sparta, and asked that the building of the defences be stopped. It was urged that the Athenian walls would be merely a protection to the Persians on another invasion, and that Peloponnese would afford a sufficient refuge for all. The Spartan ephors acted readily on the suggestion. They sent envoys who advised the Athenians to stop fortifying their city and to join the Lacedaemonians rather in tearing down the walls of all the communities north of the Isthmus of Corinth. The policy of Lacedaemon was evidently to rule Greece if convenient, and to protect only Peloponnese; but the Athenians would not submit to an arrangement so unjust. As they were in no condition to face a Peloponnesian army, the resourceful Themistocles provided a way out of the difficulty.

Following his advice, the Athenians appointed him, Aristeides, and a third person ambassadors to Sparta to discuss the question at issue.

"Themistocles proposed that he should start at once for Sparta, and that his colleagues should wait until the wall reached the lowest height which could possibly be defended. The whole people, men, women, and children, should join in the work, and they must spare no building, private or public, which could be of use, but demolish them all. Having given these instructions and intimated that he would manage affairs at Sparta, he departed. On his arrival he did not at once present himself officially to the magistrates, but delayed and made excuses; and when any

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of them asked him why he did not appear before the assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues, who had been detained by some engagement; he was daily expecting them, and wondered that they had not appeared.

"The friendship of the Lacedaemonian magistrates for Themistocles induced them to believe him; but when everybody who came from Athens declared positively that the wall was building and had already reached a considerable height, they knew not what to think. He, aware of their suspicions, desired them not to be misled by reports, but to send to Athens men whom they could trust out of their own number, who would see for themselves and bring back word. They agreed; and he at the same time privately instructed the Athenians to detain the envoys as quietly as they could, and not let them go till he and his colleagues had



A Remnant of the Wall of Athens
(Built by Themistocles)

got safely home. For by this time . . . [the two other Athenian ambassadors] had arrived, bringing the news that the wall was of sufficient height; and he was afraid that the Lacedaemonians, when they heard the truth, might not allow them to return. So the Athenians detained the envoys, and Themistocles, coming before the Lacedaemonians, at length declared in so many words that Athens was now provided with walls and could protect her citizens;"[1] and that henceforth Sparta must treat her as an equal.

It was a bold game well played. The ephors replied that their proposal to Athens had been intended merely as friendly advice.

[1] Thucydides i. 90 f.

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The outcome of the matter was that although the Spartans were thoroughly indignant with Themistocles, the alliance between the two states remained intact (§§ 94, 126).

As soon as the Athenians had finished rebuilding their city, Themistocles began to fortify *Peiraeus*. He surrounded it with a massive wall seven miles in circuit, for he wished it to be so strong that no enemy could take it by storm, and to contain at the same time ample space for trade and manufacturing. Peiraeus soon took a place among the most flourishing commercial cities of the Mediterranean world.

119. The Confederacy of Delos. — While the Athenians were rebuilding and fortifying their city and port, interesting events were happening elsewhere. The year after the battles of Plataea and Mycale the Lacedaemonians sent out Pausanias to command the fleet of the allies in their war for the liberation of the colonies. He laid siege to Byzantium, which was still occupied by the enemy (478 B.C.) ; but while engaged in this work he offered to betray Greece into Persian hands on condition that he might become tyrant of his country and son-in-law of the king. Meantime he was cruel and arrogant to those under his authority. The Asiatic Greeks who had joined the expedition, resenting such treatment, begged the Athenian generals, Aristeides and Cimon,[1] to take charge of the fleet. The gentleness and courtesy of the commanders from Athens contrasted strikingly with the brutality of Pausanias. Naturally, too, the Athenians and the Asiatic Greeks sympathized with each other because of their close kinship. Aristeides and Cimon accepted the invitation. The Lacedaemonians recalled Pausanias to answer the charges against him,[2] and soon afterward yielded the leadership at sea to Athens. They saw no advantage to themselves in continuing the war with Persia and could not trust their commanders abroad. They believed, too, that they should lose none of their prestige by this arrangement, for Athens was still their ally and pledged by treaty to follow their

[1] §§ 108, 109.

[2] § 122.

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lead in war. The Athenians, on the other hand, gladly accepted the burden of the war with Persia, for they hoped by means of their great navy to gain both wealth and political power.

In 477 B.C., accordingly, the Athenians *organized their new alliance.* It centred at the shrine of Apollo on the island of De'los, and was named therefore the Delian Confederacy. Its organization was patterned after that of the Peloponnesian League.[1] The allies were to furnish ships and crews led by Athenian generals, and a congress of deputies from all the allied states was to meet at Delos under the presidency of representatives from Athens. But in important respects the Confederacy of Delos differed from the Peloponnesian League. It was necessary to maintain a large fleet in the Aegean Sea as a defence against the Persians, whereas no standing force was needed for the protection of Peloponnese. Money is absolutely necessary for the support of a fleet; hence the Delian Confederacy, unlike the Peloponnesian League, levied annual taxes. Aristeides, who was commissioned to make the first assessment, decided which states should furnish ships with their crews and which should contribute money. The larger communities generally provided naval forces, while the smaller paid taxes. The total annual cost of maintaining the Confederacy amounted, by the assessment of Aristeides, to four hundred and sixty talents.[2] The treasury, in the temple of the Delian Apollo, was managed by treasurers who were exclusively Athenians.

120. Growth of the Confederacy; Revolts of the Allies. — With Cimon as leader, the Delian Confederacy rapidly expanded till it came within a few years to include the eastern and northern coasts and most of the islands of the Aegean. In 468 B.C., at the mouth of the Eu-rym'e-don on the coast of Pam-phyl'i-a, Cimon gained a double victory over a Phoenician fleet and a land force of Persians. As a result of this battle, the Carian and Lycian coasts came into the Confederacy of Delos, bringing the number of cities up to about two

[1] § 92. [2] The value of a silver talent is about $1180.

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hundred. The Persians were dislodged from the whole Aegean region, and there was little apparent danger from them for the present. But this very feeling of security proved to be extremely mischievous. Many of the allies, finding military service irksome, offered to pay taxes instead. Cimon advised the Athenians to accept these payments, as they could build and equip triremes at less expense than the separate allied towns, and hence could fulfil their agreement to protect the Aegean Sea, give work to the laboring class among themselves, and have money left for their own public use. But some grew tired even of paying the tribute. Indeed, they could no longer see the need of a confederacy since the Persians had ceased to trouble them.



A TRIREME

Even before the battle of Eurymedon Nax'os took the lead in revolting. It had a strong navy and expected aid from Persia; but Cimon besieged the island and reduced it before help could arrive. The Naxians were compelled to tear down their walls, surrender their fleet, and pay henceforth an annual tribute. Thus Naxos lost its freedom and became dependent on Athens (469 B.C.).

Next came the revolt of Tha'sos, the cause of which was a quarrel between the Athenians and the Thasians over certain gold mines of Thrace, in which both had an interest. Thasos was one of the strongest of the allies; it had a fleet of thirty-three ships and valuable possessions in Thrace. After a siege of two years Cimon reduced the island, and punished it just as he had Naxos (463 B.C.).

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121. Sparta and Athens. — To understand the trouble which soon afterward arose between Athens and Sparta, it is necessary to trace the relations of these cities to each other from the time when Themistocles built the wall around Athens.[1] This measure offended the Lacedaemonians, who, while keeping peace with Athens, vented their rage upon Themistocles. It was their custom to control allies by interfering in their politics. Accordingly they urged Cimon forward as leader of the conservatives at Athens, and consequently as an opponent of Themistocles, a democrat. In this position Cimon had the good will of Aristeides. Though Aristeides, as well as Themistocles, was a democrat, the two men held quite different views. Themistocles represented the commercial interests of the party; Aristeides was a patron of the poor, — he insisted that all public service should be paid, and that the state should support the masses in return for their labor. Both men were praised by their friends as strictly upright; both were denounced by their enemies as unscrupulous and corrupt in public life. Themistocles had a brilliant mind, and was a friend of education and of art; Aristeides, a man of average intelligence, would have nothing to do with such refinements, but thought it enough that people should have a living and be honest. Men so unlike could not work together. Aristeides joined Cimon against Themistocles, and so did other prominent men. Representing their great opponent as dangerous to the state, they had him ostracised (about 472 B.C.). He retired to Argos, and from there travelled about Peloponnese. Wherever he went, he encouraged the members of the league to set up democratic governments and to revolt against Sparta.

122. The Fate of Pausanias and of Themistocles. — While Themistocles was thus engaged, it seems probable that he received letters from Pausanias urging him to take part in some treasonable design. After his recall from Byzantium Pausanias had not only continued his traitorous correspondence with Persia,[2] but was even intriguing

[1] § 118. [2] § 119.

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with the helots,[1] promising them citizenship if they would support him in his plans. No sooner had the ephors got evidence of all his doings and resolved to arrest him, than he fled for refuge to a shrine of Athena. Fearing to drag him away, they walled him in, so that he died of starvation; and thus the Lacedaemonians brought upon themselves the curse of impiety.

The ephors now alleged that they had found among the letters of Pausanias some evidence that Themistocles also had been plotting with the Persians against Greece. They demanded that he should be tried for treason. As the Lacedaemonians were already angry with Themistocles, we should be slow to believe the accusation. Athenian officers, however, went to Peloponnese to bring him to Athens for trial. Hearing of their approach, Themistocles escaped to Cor-cy'ra, and after various wanderings made his way to the court of the Persian king. Here he found safety from his pursuers; he was kindly received and given the revenues of some cities in western Asia Minor. He may have made the king some promise of subduing Greece, but he certainly did nothing to carry it into effect. Finally he died of sickness, though some of the Greeks believed that he took poison to avoid fulfilling his promise to the king. Thus the man who had done more than any other to maintain the freedom of Hellas and to make his own city great ended his life in obscurity and dishonor; but years afterward he became next to Solon the idol of the Athenians.

123. The Revolt of the Helots (464 B.C.). — After driving Themistocles from Greece, the Lacedaemonians remained friendly to Athens for several years. But when the battle of Eurymedon had been won, and they saw the victorious city continually adding to her possessions and power, fear and jealously turned them against her. By promising to invade Attica they secretly encouraged the Thasians to hold out against Athens. This agreement, however, they were prevented from fulfilling by a terrible earthquake, which nearly de-

[1] § 87.

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stroyed Sparta. Only a few houses were left standing, and thousands of lives were lost. Many of the helots had recently been slain on suspicion of having intrigued with Pausanias. The authorities at Sparta had even dragged some away from sanctuaries and put them to death. Hence the earthquake was regarded by the lower classes in Laconia as a divine punishment visited upon Lacedaemon for her sin. The helots revolted, and in the general confusion caused by earthquake and superstition they nearly captured Sparta by surprise. But most of the perioeci remained loyal, and the shattered city was saved by the promptness of King Ar-chi-da'mus. The insurgents, who were mostly Messenians, seized and fortified, in their own country, Mount Ithome,[1] one of the strongest military positions in Peloponnese. As the Lacedaemonians could accomplish nothing against them single-handed, they asked help of their allies, including the Athenians. When the envoys reached Athens, a hot debate ensued as to whether aid should be sent. After the banishment of Themistocles, the democratic party, believing that Sparta was a dead weight attached to Athens, continued to uphold his policy of cutting loose from Peloponnese. Its leader was now Themistocles' friend, Eph-i-al'tes, a good citizen and an upright statesman. He vehemently opposed the resolution to send assistance to the Lacedaemonians and advised that "the pride and arrogance of Sparta be trodden under." Cimon, who was present, was of the opposite opinion. In the debate with Ephialtes, he urged the Athenians "not to suffer Greece to be lamed or Athens to be deprived of her yoke-mate," meaning that the alliance between these two states should be preserved at every cost. It was his conviction that the strength of Hellas should be united in continual war against Persia. The assembly adopted his proposal, and sent him with an army against Ithome.

124. The Fall of the Council of the Areopagus (462 B.C.).—Cimon left his party without a leader at a very critical time. Since the

[1] § 38.

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war with Persia democratic ideas had been gaining ground at Athens. Influenced by Aristeides, the government had begun to pay for public service, in order that the poor might stand on an equality with the rich in their relations with the state. Thus Aristeides introduced a radical democratic principle into the constitution. The only important conservative force remaining in it was the Council of the Areopagus. As the members of this body held their places for life, they were usually a generation behind time in the questions of the day. In Cimon's absence Ephialtes attacked this council, and carried a measure which deprived it of all political authority. It remained little more than a court with jurisdiction in cases of murder.

Ephialtes was supported in this measure by Pericles, son of Xanthippus. Though a young man, Pericles was already recognized as a prominent leader of the democrats against the conservative Cimon. After acquiring enormous wealth through his victories, Cimon spent it liberally on the state and the citizens. He engaged architects, painters, and sculptors to adorn the city with beautiful works. Especially generous toward the people of his township, he had the fences pulled down from about his orchards that his neighbors might freely enjoy the fruit; his table was plain, but all his townsmen were welcome to eat with him. Those who were thus maintained at his expense supported him in political life. The idea of Pericles, on the other hand, was to enlist the citizens in the service of the state, that they might be attached to it rather than to individuals like Cimon. His chief means to this end was the passage of an act to pay jurors a small fee, probably two obols (six cents) a day, for their service. Thus he and Ephialtes finished the work which Aristeides had begun, and Athens became a pure democracy. Ephialtes was soon afterward assassinated, probably by political enemies.

125. Rupture between Athens and Sparta (462 B.C.); Ostracism of Cimon (461 B.C.). — Meanwhile the Athenian troops at Ithome were unsuccessful; and the Lacedaemonian authorities, suspecting them

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of treachery, insolently dismissed them. Cimon returned to Athens an unpopular man. In trying to check the rising tide of democracy, he was met with taunts of over-fondness for Sparta and of immorality in his private life. Athens abandoned his policy, broke loose from Sparta, and began to form an alliance of her own, wholly independent of the Peloponnesian League. Cimon's resistance to these new movements caused his ostracism in 461 B.C.



DISCOBOLUS
(After Myron; Vatican Museum, Rome)

For fifteen years (476–461 B.C.) he had been leading the Athenian fleets to victory or upholding the principles of old Athens against what he believed to be the dangerous tendencies of demagogues, such as Themistocles and Ephialtes; during this time his influence maintained friendship between his city and Sparta and harmony among the states of Greece. Under his patronage Athens advanced beyond all other Hellenic cities in civilization. Recalled from exile some time afterward, he was again to show himself a patriot and a friend of art, but with his ostracism the political leadership of Athens passed into other hands.

Topics for Reading

I. Aristeides. — Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 24; Plutarch, *Aristeides;* Cox, *Greek Statesmen*, i: "Aristeides."

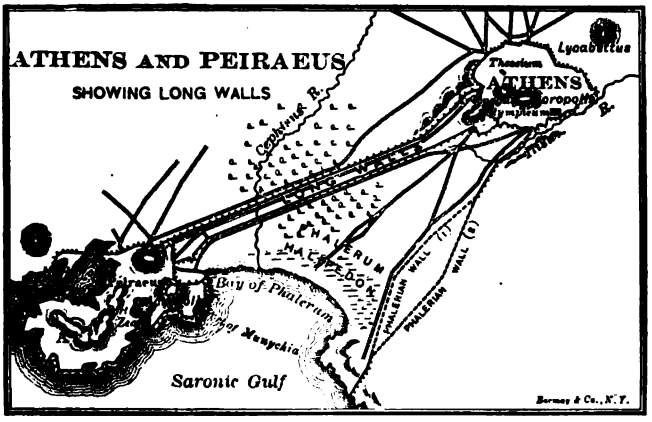
II. Cimon. — Plutarch, *Cimon;* Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. ch. viii, ix; Botsford, *Greece*, ch. viii.

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CHAPTER X

THE AGE OF PERICLES (461–431 B.C.)

126. Athens and her Neighbors (461–457 B.C.). — After Ephialtes was assassinated and Cimon ostracised, Pericles became the leading statesman of his city. Under his guidance Athens deserted the Peloponnesian League and allied herself with Argos and Thessaly, and soon afterward with Megaris. But the rapid growth of her



power stirred up enemies. The Ae-gi-ne'tans, the Corinthians, and some others combined to resist her. In the war which followed, the Athenians were victorious over their enemies by land and sea — in Megaris and off Aegina. They then landed on that island and laid siege to the city. At the same time they began to build two long walls, — four, and four and a half, miles in length, — one connecting

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Athens with Phalerum, the other with Peiraeus. Several years later they made a third wall parallel with the second mentioned, in order to have a fortified road to the sea. Their purpose was not only to secure communication between the city and the harbors in case of siege, but also to provide a place of safety for the country people with their movable property. They were right in thinking that as long as Athens maintained these walls and her naval supremacy, she was absolutely safe from every external enemy. The conservatives opposed the undertaking; a few of their party intrigued with the Lacedaemonians, inviting them to interfere and stop the building of the walls. Because of their traitorous attachment to Sparta, the stronghold of oligarchy,[1] these Athenian conservatives were henceforth called "oligarchs," a name odious to the patriots through its association with treason and conspiracy.

It seems probable that the Lacedaemonians accepted the invitation of these oligarchs, for they immediately introduced a strong army into Boeotia, near the Attic border. Disgraced by her submission to Xerxes, Thebes had lost control of Boeotia. The Lacedaemonians now restored the Boeotian League, with Thebes at its head, as a counterpoise to Athens. Thereupon the Athenians with their allies marched forth and engaged the Peloponnesians at Tan'a-gra (457 B.C.). It was a bloody struggle, but the Athenians were worsted, partly because the Thessalian cavalry in their alliance deserted to the enemy.



ATHENIAN KNIGHTS
(From the Parthenon Frieze)

127. Athens and her Neighbors (456–447 B.C.). — The Lacedaemonians now returned home, leaving the Boeotians in the lurch.

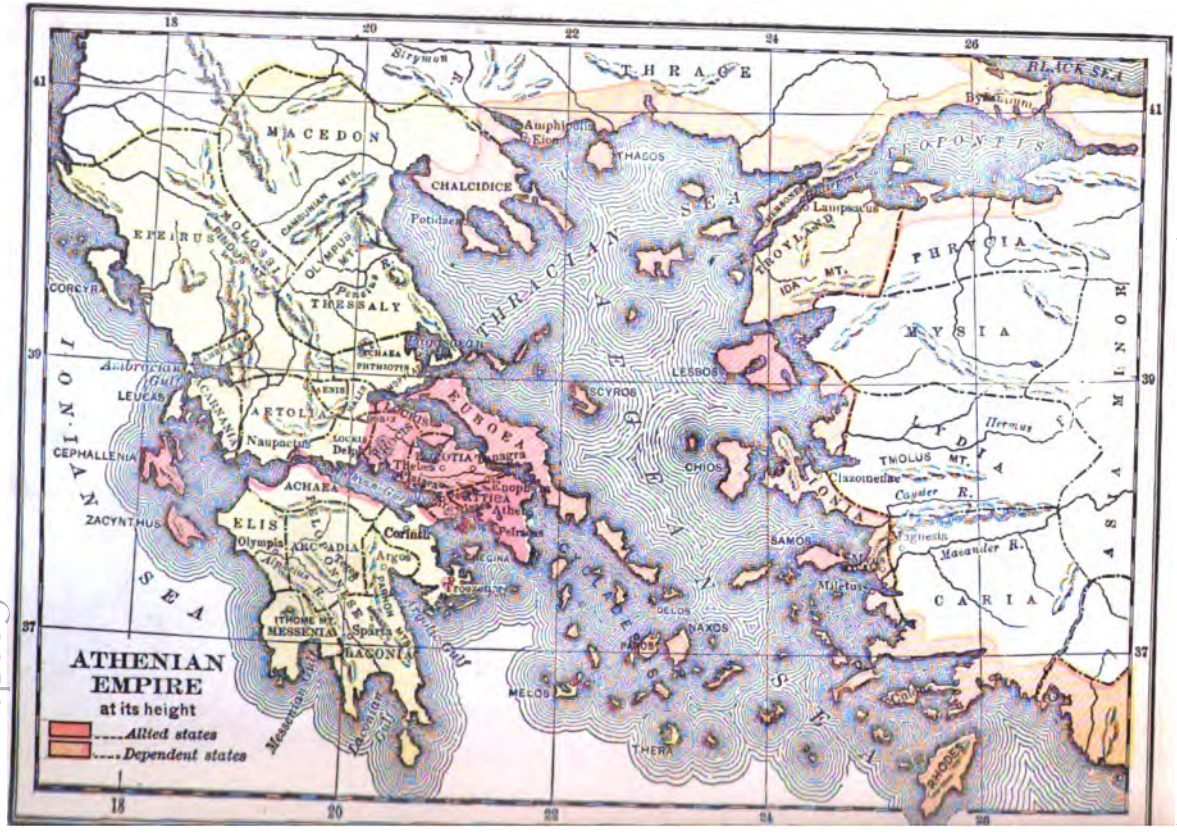
[1] § 92, n. 1.

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Two months later the Athenians under My-ro'ni-des, an able general, again took the field and defeated the Boeotians at Oe-noph'y-ta. Through this victory Athens brought into her alliance all the towns of Boeotia except Thebes; also Phocis, already friendly, and Locris. The Athenians expelled the oligarchs from the Boeotian towns and set up democratic governments favorable to themselves. For a time everything went well. Aegina surrendered, dismantled her walls, and entered the Delian Confederacy as a tributary state. About the same time Troe'zen and Achaea made an alliance with Athens. The Athenians were now at the height of their power. Their *Continental Federation* extended from the Isthmus to Thermopylae, and furthermore included not only Argos, Troezen, and Achaea in Peloponnese, but also Nau-pac'tus, an important station controlling the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf. The Aegean Sea had become an Athenian lake. The *maritime empire* whose resources Pericles commanded extended from the Attic shores eastward to Caria and northward to the Black Sea. Although under Pericles Athens had been uniformly successful, she was soon to experience a dreadful misfortune. Two hundred and fifty triremes recently sent to aid Egypt in her revolt were taken by the Persians. This great reverse compelled Athens to adopt a more friendly policy in relation to her neighbors.

Cimon, recalled from exile, brought about a *Five Years' Truce* between his city and Lacedaemon in 450 B.C. Next year he sailed with two hundred triremes to free Cyprus from Persia. But he died on the expedition; and though his fleet destroyed a strong Phoenician armament, the project came to naught. Cimon's death was a great loss to the Athenians; he was their Nelson, the winner of more naval victories than any other Greek.

Soon afterward the Continental Federation came to an end (447 B.C.). The oligarchs whom Athens had driven from the towns of Boeotia returned in force, defeated the Athenians, and compelled them to leave the country. About the same time Athens lost control of Locris, Phocis, and Megara, and came near losing Euboea. Only

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the energy and diplomacy of Pericles saved the empire at this crisis. But his city was exhausted and needed a breathing time.

In 445 B.C. a *Truce for Thirty Years* was made between the two hostile powers. Athens gave up all her continental allies except Plataea and Naupactus. Neither party was to interfere with the allies of the other, but alliances with strangers could be made at pleasure. Athens suffered most by the treaty, as she was not only excluded from Peloponnese but also lost control of the Corinthian Gulf and the Isthmus. She gained, on the other hand, an acknowledgment of her maritime supremacy.



PERICLES
(Copied after Cresilas, a Cretan artist of the Fifth Century, B.C., British Museum)

About the same time friendly relations were established between Athens and Persia, and thereafter they remained at peace with each other for many years.

128. The Change from the Confederacy of Delos to the Athenian Empire (454 B.C.). — In the preceding chapter we have seen how the allies of Athens were gradually reduced to the condition of subjects.[1] The change from confederacy to empire was completed by the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens, probably in 454 B.C. Only the Lesbians, Chians, and Samians, as free and equal allies, retained whatever forms of government they desired. The other states were required to make new

[1] § 120.

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treaties with Athens by which they agreed to adopt democratic constitutions, and to send their important law cases to the imperial city for trial. The tribute from the empire enabled Athens to beautify herself with public works, to encourage literature and art, to provide the citizens with magnificent festivals, to give paid employment to most of her people, and to build and maintain powerful fleets and strong defences. Among the allied states Pericles established many colonies, which besides serving as garrisons for the protection of the empire, furnished the poorer Athenians with lands. Thus both city and citizens were benefited by the empire.

The allies, too, enjoyed the advantages of peace. Never before or afterward did they have equal opportunity for commerce or for quiet country life. The annual tribute was more than balanced by an increase in wealth and prosperity. The commons, everywhere protected by Athens from the insolence of their own oligarchs, remained faithful. Only the families which had once ruled their communities and the market-place politicians were actively engaged in fomenting opposition to the Athenians. Though by no means perfect, the empire was the highest political development which the Greeks had yet reached; undoubtedly the great majority in all the states of the empire were satisfied with it to the end.

129. Opposition to Imperialism. — The chief opponent of imperialism at Athens was Thu-cyd'i-des, son of Mel-e'si-as. He was a near kinsman of Cimon, but a far more skilful politician, and an effective orator. Gathering up the remnants of the conservative party, he led it in a desperate attack upon the policy of Pericles. He charged against the democratic statesman the transfer of the confederate treasury to Athens and the use of the funds for the decoration of the city. Finally his party, alleging that Pericles was aiming to make himself tyrant, risked everything on a vote of ostracism. By banishing Thucydides the Athenians gave Pericles free scope for his policy at home and abroad (442 B.C.).

Soon afterward *Samos revolted.* This was an evil omen to the

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empire, for the Samians had always been the most faithful allies and the most zealous supporters of Athens. They expected help from both Persia and Lacedaemon, but none came. The Persians were not ready, and Corinth again prevailed upon Lacedaemon not to interfere with Athens. The Samians hoped, too, that many subject states of Athens would join them, but this great danger to the empire was averted by the energy of Pericles. In a nine months' siege he compelled Samos to surrender. He then deprived the state of its freedom and required it to pay the expenses of the war. This success strengthened the empire (440 B.C.).

130. The Periclean Democracy (461–431 B.C.); the Law Courts. — While Pericles was thus engaged in attaching to Athens the common people of the empire by giving them the control of their states, and by suppressing the oligarchs, he was no less busy with establishing equal rights for his fellow-citizens. In earlier times the Council of the Areopagus had exercised a parental watch over the government; but in 462 B.C. Pericles had helped overthrow that body,[1] because he believed the Athenians were no longer children in politics, and could now govern themselves. He intended that the people themselves should protect their constitution by means of the *supreme court* which Solon had established.[2] It was to contain six thousand jurors, who were divided normally into panels, or smaller courts,[3] of five hundred and one each. As cases were decided by a majority vote, the odd number was to prevent a tie. Originally the archons were judges and the courts simply received appeals from their decisions; but in the time of Pericles the archons had come to be mere clerks, who prepared cases for presentation to the courts and presided over them through the trial, with no power to influence the decision. As the archons declined, the jurors gained in importance. Their large number made bribery and intimidation diffi-

[1] §§ 71, 124. [2] § 77.

[3] *Di-cas-tē'ri-a*, plural of *dicasterium*. Some panels were larger, others smaller, but the number was always odd.

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THE TEMPLE OF VICTORY AND THE PROPYLÆA

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cult. This was especially salutary, as there was a tendency among Greek nobles to override the laws and trample upon the rights of common people. The system, on the other hand, was defective from the fact that it is easier to excite the feelings of a multitude than of a few persons. Then, too, these large bodies of men, taken for the most part from the less wealthy class and absolutely free from the control of a judge, often acted from political motives; as they were intensely democratic, an oligarch was not sure of fair treatment at their hands.

The *legislative power* resided chiefly in these courts. Once a year the *no-moth'e-tae*, a special body of sworn jurors, met and received from the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly proposals for new laws, and after hearing them discussed, decided upon them by a majority vote. Laws thus made were distinguished from the decrees passed by the Council of Five Hundred and the assembly in their management of the current business of government.[1]

The *introduction of a fee* enabled the poorest citizen to attend to jury service. The pay was that of an unskilled day laborer. If frugally managed, it would buy food for a small family. There was no class of paupers in Athens at this time; nor did men wish to become jurors to avoid working with their hands. They had been oarsmen or soldiers in their younger days, and now, for the most part too old to work, they were drawing their juror's fee as a kind of pension, for which, however, they were required to sit on the benches judging from early morning till late at night. Payment for public duties, whether religious or political, tended to equalize the poor and the rich; it tended to the religious, intellectual, and political education of all the citizens, and was thus a necessary factor in the growth of Attic civilization.

131. The Periclean Democracy; the Assembly and the Generals. — The assembly was composed of all citizens above eighteen years

[1] Laws were *nom'oi*, plural of *nomos*, and *nomothetae* signifies lawmakers; decrees were *pse-phis'ma-ta*, plural of *psephisma*.

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of age who had the leisure and inclination to attend. There were four regular meetings in every prytany, or tenth of a year, with as many extraordinary sessions as were thought necessary. One meeting of each prytany was occupied with examining the conduct of magistrates; and any one of them who was thought guilty of mismanagement could be deposed and brought to trial before a popular court. All measures brought before the assembly had to be previously considered by the Council of Five Hundred, but the citizens could offer amendments at pleasure. They had no master; they acknowledged no authority but the laws which they and their fathers had made. There was no higher or more dignified office than that of the citizen who attended the assembly and law courts; he was at once a legislator, a judge, and an executive officer. This position of honor and trust made him public-spirited. The Athenian citizen was called upon as was no other in the ancient world, to find his larger interests in those of the state. In the assembly and in the courts he received an education in law and in statesmanship such as has been granted to but a select few in other states, whether ancient or modern.

By far the most important magistrates in this century were *the generals*. They commanded the army, and were ministers of war, of the navy, of finance, and of foreign affairs. They had to be in constant communication with the assembly. For this purpose the gift of speaking was necessary, and that general who was at the same time an orator was naturally leader of the board. Through this office Pericles ruled Athens and her empire with an authority which surpassed that of kings and tyrants. His power was founded on ability and integrity. "He was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but on the strength of his own high character could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and when

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they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen."[1]

132. Narrowness of the Periclean Democracy.—The chief defect in the Periclean system was its narrowness. There were perhaps thirty thousand voters in Attica at this time. The total number of Athenians, including women and children, was about a hundred thousand. Under these in rank were thirty thousand alien residents, and at the lowest estimate, a hundred thousand slaves. From this it is evident that all men in Attica were by no means free and equal. Slavery was necessary to the Athenian democracy, as it gave the citizens leisure for attending to public affairs; yet it was a monstrous evil. However, it may be said that, so far as our knowledge goes, the slave at Athens was treated better even than the common citizen in oligarchic states.

An evil second only to slavery was the permanent exclusion of alien residents from the citizenship. Many of their families had lived in Attica for generations; and had they been admitted to all the privileges of citizenship, they would undoubtedly have given the state a breadth of base sufficient for its preservation and success in the long war which was soon to come. The narrowness of the Athenian system is seen further in the relation between Athens and her allies, who were now in reality subjects. However loyal an allied state might be, its citizens were given no hope of ever securing the Athenian franchise. Thus the whole body of Athenian citizens had become aristocrats, were now living at the expense of the many over whom they ruled, and were taking pride in their exclusive privileges of birth. Finally, by refusing to intermarry with any other Greeks, the Athenians made of themselves a closed caste. Pericles brought this about by his law of 451 B.C., which restricted the citizenship to those whose parents were both Athenians. This narrowness was more pernicious to Athens than all the calamities of war which ever befell her.

[1] Thucydides ii. 65.

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Improvements of the City[1]

133. Art. — In the improvement of the city the years of peace from 445 to 431 B.C. form the most brilliant period of Athenian history. Pericles wished his city to become the "School of Hellas"; he aimed, by adding a broad, well-rounded education to the natural genius of the Athenians, to make of them a race of men whom other Greeks would regard as distinctly superior in mind and in soul. Thus he hoped to establish for his countrymen a natural claim to sovereignty over Hellas. One of the means of effecting this end was a beautiful environment.



Athena Parthenos

On the Acropolis, accordingly, skilful architects built a temple to Athena, which came to be known as the *Par'the-non*.[2] It included two principal apartments: the smaller served as a treasure room, and the larger contained the statue of the goddess. The material of the temple is marble from Mount Pentelicus; when taken from the quarries it is brilliantly white, but exposure to the weather changes

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit §§ 133, 134.

[2] "Maidens' chamber," first applied simply to the treasure room, which was dedicated to Athena's maiden attendants.

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it to a rich yellow. Though the Parthenon is Doric, its beauty is softened by Ionic influence. It is perhaps the most nearly perfect piece of architecture ever created by human hands.

Near the Parthenon, on the northern rim of the Acropolis, is the *E-rech-thei'um*, the house of Erechtheus and Athena. The Athena of the Parthenon was guardian of the empire; the goddess of the Erechtheium protected the city. This temple, finished in 409 B.C.,



"THESEIUM"

(From the northeast)

was the centre of the religious life of Athens. It is in the Ionic style, and is noted for its beautiful floral ornamentation of the honeysuckle pattern. Modern artists are attracted by the statues of maidens, substituted for columns in the south porch (p. 186).

Northwest of the Acropolis, on a rocky terrace, is the so-called *The-sei'um*, a temple of the Doric order, the best preserved piece of ancient Greek architecture. It is unknown whether this is really a temple to Theseus or to one of the great gods, perhaps Hephaestus,

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or whether Cimon or Pericles built it. Scholars are inclined to regard it as the work of Pericles, and think it too large to be the shrine of a mere hero (§ 48).

All the temples at Athens are of the same fine material; all testify to the love of beauty born in the people who built them.

The private dwellings of the Greeks and even their official buildings were small and inexpensive. Religion alone inspired them to build beautifully and grandly. But some architectural works were less directly connected with the worship of the gods than were the temples. Such was the Pro-py-lae'a, the magnificent portal of the Acropolis, built under the administration of Pericles. Beneath the Acropolis, on the southeast, Pericles built also the O-dei'um. It was semicircular in form, with a pointed, tent-like roof, whose rafters were masts of Persian vessels taken at Salamis. In it were held the musical contests of the Great Pan-ath-e-nae'a, or harvest festival in honor of the goddess.



LAPITH AND CENTAUR
(Parthenon Metope)

The *sculpture* of the age was as beautiful as the architecture. The reliefs of the Parthenon were made under the direction of Phei'di-as, the most eminent sculptor of all time. By comparing one of its metopes with that from Selinus described above,[1] we may see how wonderful an advance the Greeks had made in this branch of art within the short period of a hundred and fifty years. The figures of the Parthenon metope are lifelike,

[1] § 98.

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and are wrought with great skill. The earlier sculpture shows a mechanical succession of figures little related to one another, whereas those of the later piece form a natural group which fills the slab with a variety of graceful lines.

The earliest *material for statues* was wood; and throughout ancient history some of the most revered images of the gods were but carved logs. For instance, in the Erechtheium the Athenians kept an archaic wooden statue of Athena, which they venerated more highly than all the artistic work of more recent times. Bronze and stone, however, gradually took the place of wood. Rarely ivory and gold were used. The great statue of Athena by Pheidias in the Parthenon was of this kind. It was made on a wooden frame; the garments were of gold and the bare parts of ivory.

134. Literature, Philosophy, and Education. — *Aes'chy-lus* (525–456 B.C.), the first great composer of dramas, saw the beginning of the age of Pericles. He had lived through the war with Persia and had fought in the battles of Marathon and Salamis. From this conflict he drew his inspiration. Of his ninety tragedies we have only seven, but all of them masterpieces of literature. To the student of history the *Persians* is the most valuable. In representing the invasion of Xerxes, it gives a glorious description of the battle of Salamis. The moral aim of the play is to show how Zeus punished Xerxes for his insolence. In fact overweening pride and its fatal effects are the theme of all his writings.

Soph'o-cles was the great dramatic writer of the age of Pericles. Though not so strong or so original as Aeschylus, he was a more careful artist. His plot is more intricate and his language more finished. We have but seven of his hundred plays. Though the *Oed'i-pus Tyr-an'nus* won but a second prize, modern scholars usually consider it his best. It tells how Oedipus, king of Thebes, a just and pious man, brought utter ruin upon himself and his household by unintentional sin.[1] In the *An-tig'o-ne* the heroine faces a conflict between

[1] § 47.

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divine and human law. She chooses to obey the command of God in preference to that of the king; and she dies a martyr to the nobler cause. It has always been popular from its first exhibition to the present day.

In the age of Pericles *He-rod'o-tus* was at work on his *history*, the first masterpiece of Greek prose. An exile from his native city of Hal-i-car-nas'sus in Asia Minor, the "father of history" spent much of his life in travel. He visited nearly all of the known world and everywhere collected from the natives interesting stories of persons and events. These he wove into a history of the war between Greece and Persia. In tracing the causes of the conflict by way of introduction, he gives the history of the world from mythical times down to the war itself. He wrote his work to be read aloud, as the poems of Homer had been, at public gatherings. This helps us to understand why his style is so simple and so interesting. Many of his tales are myths or fictitious anecdotes; but they are all valuable, as they illustrate the character of nations and of individuals. Herodotus was one of the fairest and most large-minded of historians. Though uncritical, though he takes little interest in politics, or in the deeper causes of events, yet his picture of the world of his time and of mankind in the many countries which he visited makes his work perhaps the truest, as it certainly is the most interesting, of all histories.

Pericles was a patron of literature and art and friend of philosophers. Among his teachers was An-ax-ag'o-ras, the first philosopher who taught that *Mind* rules the universe. The class of philosophers called sophists[1] was now becoming numerous. They travelled through Greece teaching practical knowledge of every kind for pay. Especially they aimed to prepare young men for statesmanship by training them in mere cleverness of thought. As a rule they were sceptical; with their false logic they tried to undermine belief in everything. They destroyed respect for religion by pointing out its inconsistencies and the immoralities of the gods.

[1] From σοφός, wise.

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The influence of the sophists affected but a few men of wealth and leisure. In general life was wholesome and the people were moral. The artistic surroundings, the grand dramatic entertainments, enjoyed by all the citizens, the splendid religious festivals, and the public life in the assembly and law courts educated the poor as well as the rich. There is no wonder that the Athenians of the age of Pericles were the foremost people of all time in intelligence and in taste.

135. The Troubles of Pericles. — But the era of peace was rapidly drawing to an end. The moderate policy of Pericles pleased neither the oligarchs nor the extreme democrats. His enemies, not daring to attack him directly, assailed his friends one after another. First they prosecuted Pheidias, the sculptor, on the charge of embezzling some of the gold entrusted to him to be used in gilding the statue of Athena for the Parthenon. Although he was ready to prove his innocence by having the metal taken off and weighed, they threw him into prison, where he died of sickness. Then to punish Anaxagoras, the philosopher, for his attachment to Pericles, they drove him from Athens by threatening to prosecute him for impiety. About the same time As-pa'si-a was indicted for impiety and immorality. She was a Milesian by birth, a woman of remarkable intelligence. Pericles had divorced his wife, the mother of his two sons, and had taken Aspasia to his house, though his own law of 451 B.C. forbade him to marry an alien. She became the teacher of artists, philosophers, and orators, — the inspiring genius of the Periclean social circle. But the Athenians, who in this age had come to believe that a woman must be restricted to the house and must talk with no one outside of her own family, regarded Aspasia's conduct as immoral. They complained especially because their own wives went to the house of Pericles and learned the ideas and manners of this foreign woman. Happily Pericles by personal entreaty induced the judges to acquit her. While he was thus beset by private difficulties, war with Peloponnese began to threaten.

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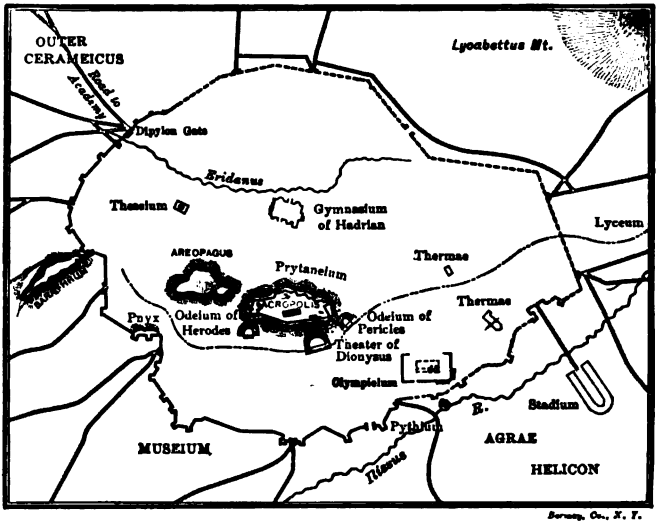
Topics for Reading

I. The Athenian Maritime Empire. — Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 169–171; Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. ch. xvii; Abbott, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 367–374, iii. pp. 10–15; Whibley, *Political Parties in Athens*, pp. 14–25; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, pp. 189–204.

II. Government of Athens under Pericles. — Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 172–179; *Development of the Athenian Constitution*, pp. 221–233; Holm ii. ch. xvi; Whibley, pp. 25–34; Greenidge, pp. 166–189.

III. Art in the Age of Pericles. — Tarbell, *History of Greek Art*, chs. iii, viii; Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ch. iii; Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. ch. xx; Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. III. ch. iii.

IV. Herodotus. — Jebb, *Greek Literature*, pp. 103–106; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, ch. vi; Curtius, *History of Greece* (see Index); Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. ch. xx.



PLAN OF ATHENS

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CHAPTER XI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE END OF THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION (431–413 B.C.)

136. Causes of the War. — Before the year 431 B.C. a great majority of the states of Greece had been brought under the leadership of Athens or of Sparta. The peace of 445 B.C. was to last thirty years; but scarcely half that period had elapsed when war broke out between the two powers. Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies, on the one hand, and the Athenians with their allies, on the other, were so unlike in character and in occupation that they could not understand or appreciate each other. Most of the Peloponnesians were Dorians. They made their living chiefly by agriculture, and preferred oligarchic governments. The Ionians, who formed the nucleus of the Athenian empire, were a commercial and manufacturing people, for the most part democratic. In addition to these differences the two great cities were rivals for the leadership of Greece; and the growing power of Athens filled Sparta with jealousy and fear.

The Athenians had trouble also with particular states of the League. The usual relations between *Athens and Corinth* had been extremely friendly; but since the war with Persia, Peiraeus was monopolizing the commerce of the seas, and Corinth found herself painfully cramped in her trade. Furthermore, Athens was interfering between her and her colony, Corcyra. Corinth and Corcyra had fought for the possession of Ep-i-dam'nus, a joint colony on the mainland. After suffering a severe defeat in battle, Corinth persuaded several of her neighbors to aid in preparing a great armament with which to overwhelm Corcyra. Thereupon the latter sent envoys to Athens to ask an alliance.

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Corinthian ambassadors also came, and the two parties pleaded their causes before the Athenian assembly. Believing war with Lacedaemon inevitable, Pericles felt that the navy of the Corcyraeans should by all means be secured for Athens. Upon his advice, therefore, it was resolved to make a defensive alliance with them; and a small Athenian fleet was sent to aid them in defending their island against the great Corinthian armament.[1] The Corinthians were justly angry with this interference between themselves and their colonies, especially as they had several times prevented Lacedaemon from interfering in Athenian affairs. They asserted that Athens broke the treaty, and now exerted all their energy to stir up Peloponnese against the offender.



VICTORY
(By Paeonius, about 420 B.C.; Olympia)

At the same time they were urging *Potidaea*[2] to revolt. This Corinthian settlement in Chalcidice had grown into a prosperous city, now tributary to Athens. Garrisoned by a force from the mother state, it revolted, whereupon the Athenians laid siege to the place.

The Corinthians alleged that this was another violation of the treaty of 445 B.C. They persuaded the Lacedaemonians to call a *congress of the League* to consider the various griev-

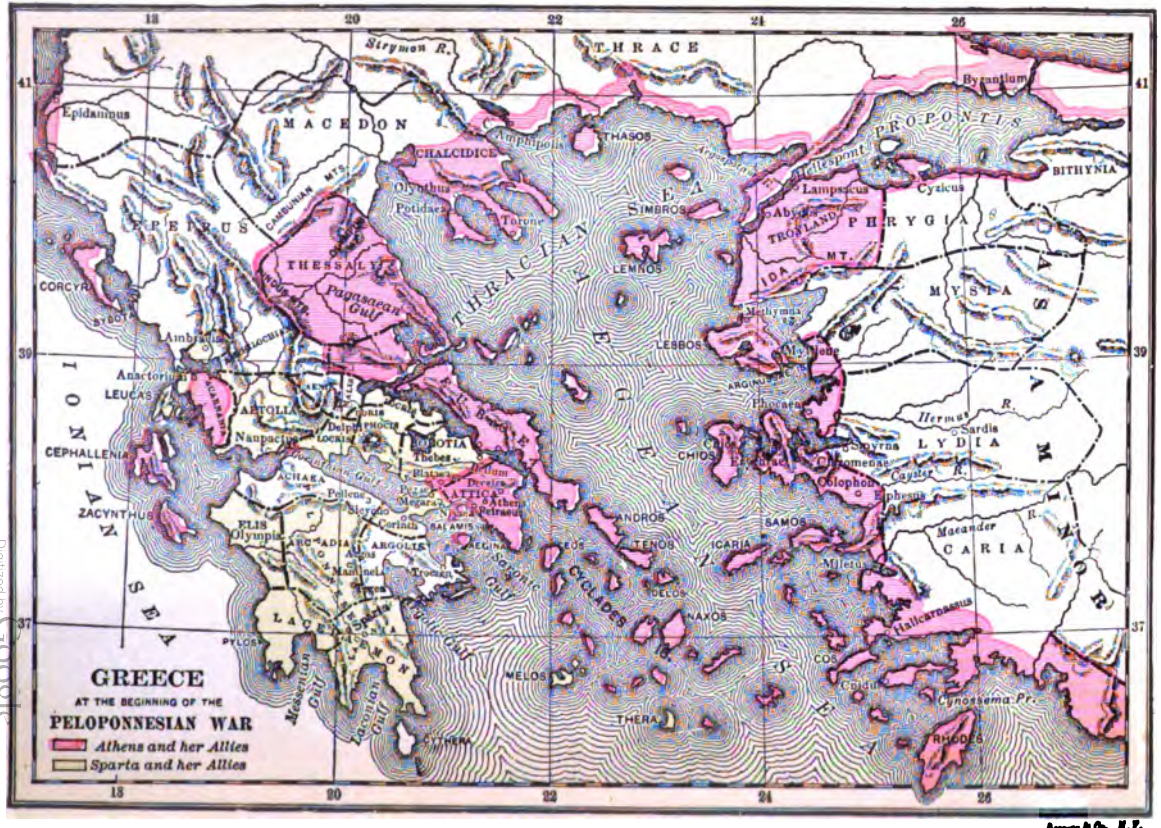
[1] In the battle off Syb'o-ta, 432 B.C.

[2] § 61.

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ances against Athens (432 B.C.). When the deputies gathered, the Lacedaemonians invited them to bring their complaints before the Spartan assembly. Among those who had grievances were the Megarians. Athens had recently passed an act which excluded them from the ports and markets of Attica and of the empire. This, also, the Megarians averred, was a violation of the treaty. King Archidamus advised caution; it would be wise, he said, to obtain a redress of wrongs by negotiation. But one of the ephors overrode his judgment, and persuaded the assembly to vote that the Athenians had broken the treaty. The Peloponnesian congress ratified the decision of the Spartan assembly, and declared war against Athens.

137. The Resources of Athens and Sparta. — The empire of Athens, composed of subject states, was stronger than it had ever been before. Among her independent allies were Chios, Lesbos, Thessaly, and Plataea, besides a few cities in Italy and Sicily. She had thirteen thousand heavy-armed troops, and a larger force for garrison service. There were three hundred triremes of her own besides those of the allies, and her sailors were the best in the world. She commanded the sea and its resources. The tributes from her subject cities, together with other revenues, amounting in all to about a thousand talents a year, would be nearly enough, in case of siege, to support the whole Attic population on imported food.

All the Peloponnesian states, except Argos and a part of Achaea, were in alliance with Lacedaemon; and outside of Peloponnese, the Megarians, Boeotians, Locrians, and some others; in Sicily and in Italy most of the Dorian cities sympathized with Sparta. The few commercial states of the League provided ships; the others, land forces only. The League could muster an army of twenty-five thousand heavy-armed men. Though by no means a numerous force, it was the strongest in the world at that time.

138. The First Three Years of the War (431–429 B.C.). — In the summer of the first year King Archidamus, at the head of a Peloponnesian army, invaded Attica. The plan of Pericles was to

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venture no battle on land, but to bring the entire population into the city or behind the Long Walls, and to damage Peloponnese as much as he could with his fleet. While the invaders were devastating Attica, the Athenians were sailing round Peloponnese and ravaging the coasts. These operations were repeated nearly every year through the early part of the war. The removal of the country people to Athens was very painful. They were distressed at exchanging the homes and shrines which they loved for the crowded city, where most of them could find no comfortable shelter. And when they saw their houses and orchards ruined by the enemy, they could not help being angry with Pericles. Nevertheless he considered his policy on the whole successful, as we may infer from the *Funeral Oration*[1] which he delivered in the autumn over those who had fallen in the campaigns of the year. This oration sets forth his high ideal of the Athenian state; it praises those who gave their lives in defence of their country, and inspires the survivors with noble sentiments.

Next year Athens and Peiraeus were visited by a *plague*, which inflicted more terrible damage than the severest defeat in battle would have done. The people suffered because they were crowded together and lacked the comforts of life. Although many nobly risked their lives to attend their friends, the total effect was demoralizing. The Athenians blamed Pericles for both war and plague, and gave vent to their grief and anger by fining him heavily. But soon they repented, and again elected him general with absolute power.

Pericles died of the plague, and the leadership of the state passed into the hands of *Cle'on*, a tanner (429 B.C.). Though no general, he had a remarkable talent for finance and was an orator of great force. In the main he followed the policy of Pericles. As the surplus in the treasury was soon exhausted by the war, the state levied a direct tax, and Cleon made himself very unpopular with

[1] Thucydides ii. 35–46.

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the wealthy by his ruthlessness in collecting it. The more energetic he was in providing ways and means, the more the nobles hated him. They could not endure to see this upstart from the industrial class at the head of the government, compelling them to pay in taxes the expenses of a war they did not favor.

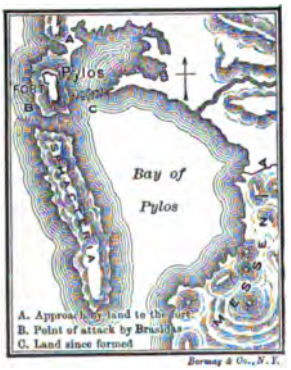
139. The Revolt of Lesbos (428–427 B.C.). — In the year after Cleon had come to the front, the oligarchs of Lesbos induced Myt-i-le'ne and the other cities of the island, except Me-thym'na, to revolt. There was danger that all the maritime cities would follow this example. But the Peloponnesians were too slow in sending the promised aid, and the Athenians made desperate efforts to conquer the island. As a last resort (427 B.C.) the oligarchs of Mytilene armed the commons; but the latter promptly surrendered the city to Paches, the Athenian commander. Thereupon he sent the oligarchs, who alone were guilty of revolt, to Athens, and kept guard over the other Myt-i-le-nae'ans, awaiting the judgment of the assembly. The Athenians were angry because the Lesbians had revolted without cause; they feared, too, for the safety of their empire and, indeed, for their own lives. Under the excitement of the moment, they decreed to kill all the men of Mytilene and to enslave the women and children. A trireme was despatched to Lesbos with the message of death. Cleon, the author of this policy of terrorism toward the cities of the empire, wished to make an example of the Lesbians so that the other communities would fear to revolt. But on the next day the decree was reconsidered in the assembly. One of the speakers, in opposing Cleon's policy, declared that it was unwise to destroy the innocent commoners along with the guilty oligarchs. His opinion prevailed, and a second trireme reached Lesbos in time to countermand the bloody decree of the day before. But the thousand Lesbian oligarchs at Athens were massacred. The Athenians were severe enough in their punishment for rebellion without going the whole length of Cleon's desires. In putting down this revolt, Athens passed the

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dangerous crisis and was again undisputed mistress of the Aegean Sea.

Somewhat later in the summer (427 B.C.), *Plataea*, after a two years' blockade, surrendered to the Lacedaemonians. Two hundred Plataeans with a few Athenians fell into the hands of the enemy, who put them to death on the ground that they had done no service to the Peloponnesians in the present war.

140. Demosthenes (426–425 B.C.). — The war now began to turn decidedly in favor of Athens. De-mos'the-nes, the ablest commander since the days of Themistocles and Cimon, defeated with great slaughter the Am-bra'ci-ots, who were helped by the Lacedaemonians (426 B.C.). His victory gave Athens a brilliant reputation and the military superiority in the western part of central Greece. Next year he seized Py'los, on the west coast of Peloponnese, and fortified it. This became a thorn in the side of Sparta, — a refuge for helots and a good basis for ravaging Laconia. It was a promontory with an excellent harbor protected by the island of Sphac-te'ri-a. Demosthenes held the place against repeated attacks of the Peloponnesians. A select corps of the enemy landed on Sphacteria, and tried to carry his position by storm. The attempt failed; the besiegers found themselves blockaded by an Athenian fleet; and then, to save the troops on the island, they made a truce with Demosthenes with a view to negotiating for peace.



Spartan envoys came to Athens to discuss the terms; but as the demands of Cleon were too great for them to accept, the war continued.

Cleon's chief opponent at Athens was *Nic'i-as*, leader of the conservatives, who composed the peace party. Nicias was a good

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officer, but too slow and stupid to lead an army or a political party. His chief recommendations were his respectable birth, his great wealth, his honesty, and his religion. Instead of conducting reënforcements to Demosthenes, which was his duty as general, he surrendered his office to Cleon in the hope that the latter might meet with defeat at Pylos, and thus come to the end of his political career. But on arriving at Pylos with reënforcements, Cleon wisely placed himself under the command of Demosthenes. The latter captured the troops of Sphacteria and brought them home, two hundred and ninety-two in number (425 B.C.). Though this success was due to Demosthenes, Cleon reaped the fruit of the victory. He was given the highest honors of the state, and his opinion prevailed on all questions in the assembly. The victory strengthened the hold of Athens on the empire, and enabled her to raise the tribute to a thousand talents, nearly double the former amount. This measure increased the Athenian resources for war.

141. Brasidas; the Battle of Delium (424 B.C.). — In the year following the capture of Sphacteria, Nicias seized Cythera. From it the Athenians cut off the commerce of Lacedaemon and ravaged her coasts. This year saw the height of their success in the war and the beginning of their decline. Though their lands had often been ravaged, they had nearly made good the loss by plundering the coasts of Peloponnese; and they now held two strong posts in the enemy's country, — Pylos and Cythera. But a certain Spartan officer named Bras'i-das discovered the one exposed point of the Athenian empire, — Chalcidice. It was the only part of the empire outside of Attica which the Peloponnesians could reach by land. Brasidas invaded this country with a small force of allies and emancipated helots. An exceptionally able commander and diplomatist, he induced several states of the empire to revolt, among them Am-phip'o-lis, the most important city in that region. The states which revolted became independent members of the Peloponnesian League.

In this year the Athenians attempted to gain possession of all

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Boeotia. Their plan failed, however, through mismanagement, and they suffered a severe defeat at *Delium*.

142. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — In 422 B.C. Cleon, who had been elected general, tried to regain Amphipolis, but was defeated and slain. Brasidas was killed in the same battle. The death of these two men removed the chief obstacles in the way of peace.

Both Athenians and Lacedaemonians desired *peace*. The conservatives at Athens, who from the beginning had opposed the war, were brought into office by the defeat at Delium and by Cleon's recent failure before Amphipolis. Nicias, now the most eminent man at Athens, was their leader. The Lacedaemonians, for their part, were bitterly disappointed in the results of the war. They had hoped to crush the power of Athens in a few years at the most, but had suffered at Pylos the greatest reverse in their history. They were anxious also to recover the prisoners taken at Sphacteria, for many of them were no ordinary troops, but pure Spartans. Nicias carried on the negotiations as representative of his city, and the peace accordingly bears his name. It was concluded in 421 B.C. The essence of the treaty was the restoration of the relations which had existed before the war. This seemed at the time to be just, as the strong positions which Athens held in the enemy's country were offset by her recent defeats — at Delium and Amphipolis. Later events, however, proved that Athens lost greatly by the treaty.

Peace was to last fifty years and was to extend to the allies on both sides. But those of Sparta, not having been consulted in the matter, now refused their assent; for they desired some concessions from Athens in return for the ten years' war. Sparta did her best to carry the treaty into effect; but her allies so hindered her that she was compelled to give up the attempt. Though the treaty was therefore imperfectly carried out, the two cities did not directly attack each other for seven years, and the Athenians enjoyed the peace while it lasted. They returned to the country and began

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again the cultivation of their little farms, pleased to be free from their long confinement behind the walls.

When it became known in Athens that the treaty with Sparta was a mere farce, the war party again came into power. The principal leader of this party was Al-ci-bi'a-des. He belonged to one of the noblest families of Athens and was a near kinsman of Pericles. Though still young, he was influential because of his high birth and his fascinating personality. His talents were brilliant in all directions; but he was lawless and violent, and followed no motive but self-interest and self-indulgence. Through his influence Athens allied herself with Argos, Elis, and Man-ti-nei'a against the Lacedaemonians and their allies. The armies of these two unions met in *battle at Mantineia* in 418 B.C. The Lacedaemonians, who still had the best organization and discipline in Greece, were victorious. This success wiped out the disgrace which had lately come upon them and enabled them to regain much of their former influence in Peloponnese. Argos and Mantineia now made peace with Lacedaemon apart from Athens.

In 416 B.C. Alcibiades persuaded Athens to send a fleet against Me'los, now the only Aegean island outside of her empire. It was a colony of Lacedaemon, but remained neutral till the Athenians began to attack it. They were acting on the principle that the Aegean Sea was theirs and all the islands in it. Insisting that the strongest had a right to rule, they tried to justify their own conquests by their mild treatment of subjects. Thus if the Melians should surrender, they would be required merely to pay an annual tribute. But as Melos resisted, the Athenians blockaded the island and starved the inhabitants into surrender. They then killed all the men of military age and enslaved the women and children. Greek usage made it just for them to annex the island, but the slaughter of the conquered, though common in that age, has proved an indelible stain on the good name of Athens.

143. Athens and the Western Greeks (479–416 B.C.). — In the

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winter following the conquest of Melos, envoys came from Se-ges'ta in Sicily, asking Athens to protect their city from Se-li'nus, a stronger state near by. To understand the feelings which this request awakened in the Athenians, it is necessary to run rapidly over the history of the western Greeks from the time of their war with Carthage.

After the battle of Himera (480 B.C.),[1] the Greeks of Sicily and Italy entered upon an era of great prosperity. The tyrants beautified their cities with temples and statues. Literature flourished, wealth



TEMPLE OF CONCORDIA AT ACRAGAS
(Doric order; present appearance)

abounded, and life was easy. Then tyranny was abolished, and before the middle of the century most of the cities of western Greece had introduced democratic governments. Syracuse, the greatest power in Sicily, led the Hellenic cities of the island in time of war, in some such way as Sparta had led the eastern Greeks during the Persian invasions. In this position Syracuse followed two nearly related lines of policy: (1) she maintained close friendship

[1] § 116.

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with Sparta and with her mother city, Corinth; and (2) she aimed to bring all the Sicilian cities as thoroughly under her control as those of Peloponnese were under Sparta. In consequence of this policy, (1) Syracuse was hostile to Athens, the enemy of Corinth and Sparta, and (2) the Sicilian cities which disliked the rule of Syracuse looked to Athens for protection.



ZEUS AND HERA

(A Metope from Selinus; about 450 B.C.)

From the time of Themistocles the Athenians took a more and more lively commercial interest in the West. They exported vases and other manufactured articles to Italy, Sicily, and Carthage. Commerce gradually led to political influence; Segesta, a foreign city, and the Ionian Rhe'gi-um and Le-on-ti'ni became their allies. When the Peloponnesian War began, the Dorians of the West gave their

sympathy to Sparta,[1] and at the same time Syracuse found in the war an opportunity to encroach upon the Ionian cities, especially upon Leontini. Athens sent little aid, and Leontini was destroyed.

144. Preparations for an Expedition to Sicily. (415 B.C.).—Naturally the Athenians looked upon this event as a great misfortune to themselves; they feared lest the Dorians, if they should gain control of Sicily, might furnish Sparta with troops and supplies in her war with Athens. Many Athenians even dreamed of adding Sicily to their empire. All were therefore deeply interested in the request of the Segestaeans for aid. The latter promised to pay the expenses of an expedition and grossly exaggerated the wealth of their city. Alcibiades urged the Athenians to conquer Sicily. His motive was doubtless selfish — to open a field in which he might display his talents and win fame. The project was unwise, for the Athenians could do little more than hold their empire together and defend it against the Peloponnesians. Nicias advised the citizens in their assembly to drop all thought of the scheme, but his warnings were unheeded. The Athenians made ready in the spring of 415 B.C. to send a magnificent land and naval armament to Sicily. Ar-is-toph'a-nes, the comic poet, tells us how in Peiraeus the preparations for such an expedition —

> "Filled the city with a noise of troops:
> And crews of ships, crowding and clamoring
> About the muster-masters and paymasters;
> With measuring corn out at the magazine,
> And all the porch choked with the multitude;
> With figures of Athena newly furbished,
> Painted and gilt, parading in the streets;
> And wineskins, kegs, and firkins, leeks, and onions;
> With garlic crammed in pouches, nets, and pokes;
> With garlands, singing girls, and bloody noses.
> Our arsenal would have sounded and resounded,
> With bangs and thwacks of driving bolts and nails,
> With shaping oars, and holes to put the oars in;

[1] § 137.

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With hacking, hammering, clattering, and boring,
Words of command, whistles, and pipes, and fifes."

Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lam'a-chus — an able officer of the school of Pericles — were to conduct the expedition. To say nothing of the evils of a divided command, the characters of Nicias and Alcibiades were so utterly unlike as to give no prospect of harmony in the councils of war.

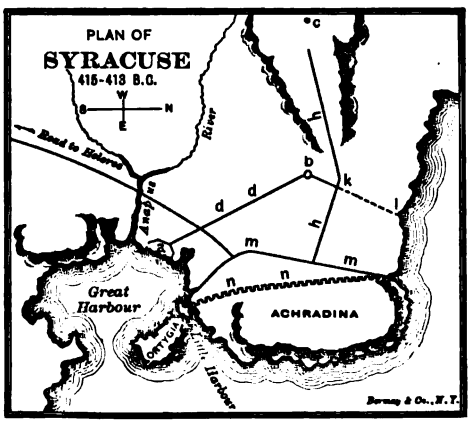
One morning, when the armament was nearly ready to sail, the Athenians were horrified to find that the *stone pillars of Hermes*, which stood everywhere throughout the city at the doorways of temples and private houses, and which they held in great reverence as the guardians of peace and public order, had been nearly all mutilated in the night. The citizens were overwhelmed with terror. They feared that a band of conspirators had attempted to deprive Athens of divine protection and would next try to overthrow the government. Some, without good cause, suspected Alcibiades. A court of inquiry was appointed to investigate the matter. It failed to discover the perpetrators of this sacrilege, but learned that certain men, among them Alcibiades, had been profaning the Eleusinian mysteries by imitating them for amusement in private houses. These mysteries were secret rites in the worship of De-me'ter and her daughter Per-seph'o-ne, the two goddesses of Eleusis, and were performed in the temple at that city in the presence of the initiated only. The Athenians found in the mystic ceremonies hope of happiness after death; and believing further that the welfare of the state depended upon keeping them secret, the citizens were greatly alarmed at hearing that they had been profaned and divulged. Alcibiades in vain demanded a trial. His enemies feared that he would be acquitted through the support of the soldiers, with whom he was very popular. It would be safer, his opponents thought, to wait till the armament had departed and then recall him for trial.

145. The Voyage; the Plans of the Admirals (415 B.C.). — The armament was to gather at Corcyra. The whole Athenian popula-

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tion thronged the wharves of Peiraeus to watch the departure of the imperial city's force of a hundred galleys. The moment was full of tears and prayers, of anxiety and hope. The flower of Athenian strength was going forth to war, and some surmised that it would return no more.

One hundred and thirty-four triremes and a great number of transports and merchant ships assembled at Corcyra with five thousand heavy-armed men on board, besides light auxiliaries and the crews. Hellas had seen larger fleets than this but none so splendid or so for-



a. Athenian naval camp.
b. Athenian fort.
c. Height in the rear of the Athenian line.
d, *d*. Athenian wall.
k, *l*. Unfinished part of Athenian wall.
n, *n*. Ancient walls of Syracuse.
m, *m*. New wall of Syracuse (415 B.C.).
h, *k*. Third Syracusan cross-wall.

midable. About the middle of the summer it began its voyage across the Ionian Sea toward Italy.

But the western Greeks now gave Athens a cold reception. Even Rhegium, which had always been friendly, would not admit the Athenians within its walls. The great armament seemed a menace to the liberties of all alike. It soon appeared, too, that Segesta could furnish little support. Disappointed by such news, the admirals were in doubt as to what they should do. Lamachus wished to attack Syracuse immediately; Nicias preferred to display the fleet along the Sicilian coasts and then return home. Either plan would have

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been good; but Alcibiades proposed instead to win over as many Sicilian cities as possible by negotiation. With all his genius for diplomacy, in this instance he miscalculated; the Greeks of the West could not be won over by mere discussion. His unwise plan, however, was adopted. Yet before it had been followed far, Alcibiades was recalled to Athens for trial. He was to return in his own ship, and the official galley which had brought the summons was to accompany him. But on arriving at Thu'ri-i, he made his escape to Peloponnese, whereupon the Athenians sentenced him to death. The trick of his opponents had succeeded — probably to their satisfaction; but it made of Alcibiades as dangerous an enemy as Athens ever had.

146. The Siege of Syracuse (414–413 B.C.). — Nicias, who now held the superior command, trifled away the autumn in half-hearted undertakings and then wasted the winter at Cat'a-na. Meantime the Syracusans were enclosing their city with strong walls. In the spring of 414 B.C. the Athenians entered the Great Harbor and laid siege to Syracuse; they began to build a wall which, if completed, would cut the city off from communication by land with the rest of the island. They were successful in several minor engagements; but Lamachus was killed, and with his death the command lost all energy. Still, the Syracusans were hard pressed and some of them were talking of surrender, when the face of affairs was suddenly changed by the arrival of the Spartan Gy-lip'pus. He came with a small force and with the promise of a larger one then preparing in Peloponnese. The Lacedaemonians had sent him at the suggestion of Alcibiades, who was now in their city. Gylippus was a man of remarkable prudence and activity, and well acquainted with western Greece. The Syracusans immediately took the offensive; they built and maintained against the besiegers a cross-wall extending from their outer line of defence on the north to the height in the rear of the Athenian position. This prevented the besiegers from finishing the northern part of their wall and secured a free communication with the country. At the same

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time the Syracusans were acquiring a navy sufficiently strong to venture battle with the Athenian fleet. There was no longer any reasonable hope of taking Syracuse; and Nicias would gladly have raised the siege, but dared not face the Athenian assembly after so great a failure. In the winter he wrote a letter to Athens, giving a detailed account of the situation and asking that either the armament be withdrawn or strong reënforcements sent. The Athenians would take no



STONE QUARRIES AT SYRACUSE

(Interior view; the stakes and lines are modern rope-makers' works)

thought of abandoning the enterprise, and prepared to send nearly as large a land and naval force as the original one, and this, notwithstanding the fact that the war with Lacedaemon was now openly resumed.

147. Agis in Attica; Ruin of the Athenian Armament (413 B.C.). — In the spring of 413 B.C. A'gis, king of the Lacedaemonians, ravaged Attica, which for twelve years had seen no enemy. At the suggestion of Alcibiades, he seized and fortified Dec-e-lei'a, a strong position

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in the north of Attica. The Lacedaemonians continued to hold it winter and summer to the end of the war. The Athenians could now do no farming except under their very walls. They were obliged to keep perpetual watch about the city to prevent surprise, and their slaves deserted to the enemy in great numbers. But though they were themselves thus practically besieged by land, they sent to Syracuse a new fleet of seventy-three triremes and five thousand hoplites commanded by Demosthenes, their ablest general. On his arrival at Syracuse he found the army in a sorry plight and the fleet already defeated in the Great Harbor by the Syracusans. He saw that the Athenians must either resume active operations at once or abandon the siege. In the following night, accordingly, he attempted to take the Syracusan cross-wall by surprise, but was repulsed with great loss. In spite of his advice to put the army on board the fleet and sail away, his slow colleague, Nicias, delayed for some days. When finally Nicias consented and everything was ready for embarking, there was an eclipse of the moon, which filled him as well as the soldiers with superstitious fears. He would remain twenty-seven days longer, to avoid the effect of the evil omen. A man of sense would have explained to the soldiers that the omen was intended for the enemy, but so much could not be expected of Nicias. Before that time had elapsed the Athenians lost another naval battle, and the disheartened crews would fight no more. The Athenians then burned their ships and began to retreat by land, Nicias in advance and Demosthenes bringing up the rear. The two divisions were separated on the march, and both were compelled to surrender after severe losses. Probably forty thousand men had taken part in the Sicilian expedition, and twenty-five thousand were left to begin the retreat. Demosthenes and Nicias were both put to death. Many of the captives were sold into slavery; many were thrown into the stone quarries near Syracuse, where most of them perished of exposure and starvation. The failure of the expedition was due to several causes, but chiefly to the stupidity and the superstition of Nicias. It

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compelled the Athenians at once to abandon all hope of conquering other peoples, and to consider instead how they could save themselves and their empire from ruin.

Topics for Reading

I. Cleon. — Cox, *Greek Statesman*, i: "Cleon;" Holm, *History of Greece*, (see Index); Abbott, *History of Greece* (see Index).

II. Sicily before the Athenian Invasion. — Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 140–143, 163 f.; Holm ii. pp. 82–87, 411–413; Allcroft and Masom, *History of Sicily*, chs. iv, v.

III. The Sicilian Expedition. — Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 466–484; Holm ii. ch. xxvii; Plutarch, *Alcibiades; Nicias.*



POSEIDON, DIONYSUS? AND DEMETER?

(From the Parthenon Frieze.)

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CHAPTER XII

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE WAR (413–404 B.C.)

148. Effects of the Sicilian Disaster (413 B.C.). — At first *the Athenians* could not believe the news of the disaster in Sicily, even when they heard it from the survivors themselves. As they came to realize the truth, they vented their rage upon the orators and the soothsayers who had persuaded them to engage in the enterprise. For a time they seemed overwhelmed with despair: while mourning their losses they feared that they should now have to contend against the whole Greek world, and they had no ships, no men, no money. But the spirit of Athens was elastic; her hopes revived, and her citizens determined in some way to build a new fleet. At the same time they resolved to cut down expenses and to hold fast to their empire. Fortunately they had the winter for preparation before the enemy could attack.

The Lacedaemonians and their allies, elated by the news, began to hope once more for success. As Athens could no longer protect her allies, the Persian king now ordered his satraps, Tis-sa-pher'nes of Sardis and Phar-na-ba'zus of the country about the Hellespont, to collect from the Greek cities of Asia Minor the tributes which had been unpaid for seventy years. Each satrap requested of Sparta a fleet to operate in his own locality, promising to support it with Persian gold. As the Chians had revolted against Athens and were likewise asking help, the Lacedaemonians resolved to send a fleet to aid them and Tissaphernes at once. The example of Chios was soon followed by other communities in the same region. Alcibiades himself went thither from Sparta to encourage rebellion against his native

city. The Lacedaemonians then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia. The treaty, though afterward modified in important respects, still surrendered to Persia those cities of Asia Minor which Athens had protected against every enemy for nearly seventy years.

149. Rebellion checked; Alcibiades (412 B.C.). — The Athenians put forth every energy to prevent the revolt from spreading. To Samos, their most faithful ally, they granted independence and made this island the base of their naval operations. The contending parties remained nearly balanced in strength, even after the arrival of a Syracusan fleet to help the Lacedaemonians; but the resources of Athens were gradually exhausted, while those of the enemy seemed limitless. Such was the state of affairs when an unexpected event turned the war for a time in favor of Athens. *Alcibiades*, hated by King Agis and fearing for his life, went over to Tissaphernes and persuaded him to keep back the Phoenician fleet, which was daily expected in the Aegean Sea. He convinced the satrap that it would be well to let Lacedaemon and Athens wear each other out in war. Alcibiades sincerely desired to return to Athens; and in order to bring about his recall he aimed to win the gratitude of his countrymen by making them think he could gain for them the friendship of Persia. He wished, too, to recover on his return the leadership of the democratic party. But a serious obstacle was in the way, — An'dro-cles, the present head of the party, was the very man who had sent him into exile. To accomplish his object, Alcibiades felt that he must first persuade others to overthrow the popular government along with the chief, and then himself step in to restore it. In the light of a saviour of democracy he believed that he could return all-powerful to his native city.

150. The Conspiracy of the Oligarchs (412–411 B.C.). — The time was ripe for a change of government at Athens, as the Sicilian disaster seemed to prove the failure of democracy. Some of the officers of the Athenian army at Samos, who were themselves of the wealthier

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class, favored the establishment of oligarchy, in which they thought they should have more of the privileges naturally belonging to men of their standing. Accordingly, when Alcibiades sent them word that he would return and make Tissaphernes an ally of Athens if they should set up an oligarchy, they readily consented. But when their spokesman came to Athens, the citizens met his proposals with a storm of indignation. They objected equally to changing the government and to recalling the impious traitor Alcibiades. But the oligarch addressed the objectors one by one and asked them what else could be done. "How are we to raise money to support the war against both Persia and our many Greek enemies?" he asked. Unable to meet this pointed argument, the people gave way in the hope that they might renew the democracy at the close of the war. It soon appeared, however, that Alcibiades had grossly deceived the Athenians in making them believe he could win the help of Persia.

The oligarchs proceeded, nevertheless, to carry out their designs. As a part of the programme, their clubs at Athens assassinated Androcles and other prominent democrats, and in this way terrorized the whole state. Overestimating the extent of the conspiracy, the people feared to talk on the subject with one another, lest in so doing they might betray themselves to an enemy. This mutual distrust among the citizens made the conspirators safe. They managed to place the state under the control of a Council of Four Hundred, which included the principal oligarchs. This body was to rule with absolute power.

151. The Rule of the Four Hundred (411 B.C.). — When organized, the Four Hundred assumed the reins of government. They ruled by force, assassinating, banishing, and imprisoning their opponents on mere suspicion. They showed their lack of patriotism by their willingness to make peace with Lacedaemon at any price, and their weakness by yielding Euboea to the enemy.

News of the violence and cruelty of the Four Hundred came to the Athenian army at Samos. The soldiers assembled, declared that

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Athens had revolted, and that they themselves constituted the true government of the empire. They deposed their oligarchic officers and filled the vacant places with popular men; they prepared to carry on the war with vigor, and hoped through Alcibiades to win Persia to their side. Thras-y-bu'lus, one of the new commanders, brought the famous exile to their camp. A democrat once more, Alcibiades was immediately elected general and placed in chief command of the army. Now he was ready to use all the resources of his mind to save Athens from the ruin he had brought upon her. To the envoys from the Four Hundred, he replied that this new council must abdicate immediately in favor of the old Council of Five Hundred. At the same time he prudently restrained the troops from going to Athens to punish the usurpers.

The Four Hundred began to feel insecure. Lacking a definite policy, they split into two factions: the extreme oligarchs and the moderates. With the help of the moderates the citizens overthrew the Four Hundred, after a three months' rule, and restored the democracy.

152. Alcibiades General of the Athenians (411–407 B.C.). — The Four Hundred had brought only misfortune to Athens. Under their slack rule the war extended to the Hellespont, and most of the cities in that region revolted. Soon, however, the Athenians were cheered by news of victories, especially of that at Cyz'i-cus, gained by Alcibiades in 410 B.C. "Ships gone, our admiral dead, the men starving, at our wits' end what to do," was the laconic message which reached Sparta from Cyzicus. Lacedaemon then proposed a treaty of peace which should leave Athens the few possessions she still held; but the Athenians rejected the terms. It appeared doubtful whether a lasting peace could be secured without the complete triumph of one of the contending parties. The Athenians feared, too, that peace with Sparta would bring them another tyrannical oligarchy in place of their free constitution; and with Alcibiades as general they still hoped for success in the war.

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In 408 B.C., however, Darius, king of Persia, despatched *Cyrus*, the younger of his two sons, to take the satrapy of Sardis from Tissaphernes and to give all possible aid to the enemies of Athens. About the same time *Ly-san'der*, a born leader of men, a general and diplomatist of surpassing ability, came from Sparta to the seat of war. He visited Cyrus and easily won his way to the heart of the ambitious young prince. Next year he defeated a large Athenian fleet off No'ti-um, near Ephesus, capturing fifteen triremes. In the absence of Alcibiades, their admiral, the Athenians had risked a battle; and as a result they suffered their first reverse since the time of the Four Hundred. As they held Alcibiades responsible for the misfortune, they failed to reëlect him general for the following year. Fearing to return home, he retired to a castle on the Hellespont which he had prepared for such an occasion. Thus the Athenians cast away a man who might have saved them. Though working to the end for his own glory, he was wiser now than in his youth and would have served his country well; but the confidence of his fellow-citizens in one who had been so impious and so traitorous could not but be shaken by the slightest appearance of inattention to duty.[1]

153. The Battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.).—The contending powers now put forth enormous efforts. In 406 B.C. the Athenians with a hundred and fifty triremes met a Peloponnesian fleet of a hundred and twenty triremes near the islands of Ar-gi-nu'sae, and gained a complete victory. Athens lost twenty-five ships; the enemy seventy, with their commander and crews, amounting to about fourteen thousand men. This was the severest battle of the war. After hearing of their disaster the Lacedaemonians were willing for the sake of peace to leave Athens what she still possessed; but the Athenians again rejected the conditions.

The Athenians disgraced themselves for all time by *putting to*

[1] Afterward, while residing in Phrygia, he was assassinated by order of the Spartan authorities.

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death six of the generals who had won the victory at Arginusae, on the ground that they had neglected to rescue the crews of the triremes wrecked in the battle. The commanders had ordered two ship-captains to attend to the work, but a sudden storm had prevented the rescue of the unfortunate sailors. The Athenians violated the constitution in condemning the generals collectively and in refusing them a sufficient opportunity for defence. Soon repenting of their conduct, they prosecuted those who had persuaded them to commit the murder.

154. The Battle of Aegospotami (405 B.C.). — Athens and Sparta made one more desperate effort to gain the mastery of the Aegean



Sea. The opposing fleets met in the Hellespont, — a hundred and eighty Athenian warships against two hundred from Peloponnese. The Athenians were on the European side at the mouth of the Ae-gos-pot'a-mi, the Peloponnesians on the opposite shore at Lamp'-sa-cus. Lysander, who was in command, would not engage. For five days the Athenians sailed forth to offer battle, and for the fifth time retired with their challenge unaccepted. Leaving their ships along the shore, they dispersed as usual to gather food through the

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neighborhood. At this time the Peloponnesians came with their whole fleet and found most of the enemy's triremes empty. The crews, returning hurriedly, fell into the hands of Lysander, who massacred three thousand Athenians to punish them for having killed prisoners of war. In reality Athens and Lacedaemon were equally to blame in this respect. It seems probable that the Athenians were betrayed to Lysander by one or more of their generals. Co'non alone of the commanders escaped with a few ships; and sending the official galley *Par'a-lus* to Athens with the news, he, though innocent, fled for his life with the rest of his ships to Cyprus.

155. Effects of the Battle; the Terms of Peace (404 B.C.). — "It was night when the Paralus reached Athens with her evil tidings, on receipt of which a bitter wail of woe broke forth. From Peiraeus, following the line of the Long Walls up to the heart of the city, it swept and swelled, as each man passed the news to his neighbor. That night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those who were lost, but the lamentation for the dead was merged in even deeper sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer, the like of which they had inflicted upon the men of Melos," [1] and upon many others. Ships and men were lost, and they were soon besieged by land and sea. But no man dared speak of submission. Finally, when on the point of starvation, they sent envoys to Sparta with full powers to treat for peace. Thereupon a Peloponnesian congress was held in Sparta, in which the Corinthians, the Thebans, and some others proposed to destroy Athens utterly, and to enslave the Athenians.



A Sepulchral Ornament of Marble
(National Museum, Athens)

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 2.

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But the Spartan ephors objected; they were unwilling, they said, that a city which had done such noble service for Greece in the perilous times of the Persian invasion should be enslaved. They would be content with milder conditions: that Athens should demolish the fortifications of Peiraeus and the Long Walls, give up all her warships but twelve, follow Sparta in peace and in war, and permit the return of the exiled oligarchs. With these concessions, Athens might remain



ERECHTHEIUM

free and "under the constitution of the fathers." As the Athenian envoys entered their city a great crowd gathered about them trembling lest their mission should have proved fruitless; for many were already dying of starvation. The majority ratified the treaty. Lysander entered Peiraeus with his fleet, the exiles were already coming home, and the Peloponnesians began the destruction of the walls to the music of flutes, with the idea that they were celebrating the return of liberty to Hellas.

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The Progress of Culture[1]

156. Art, Literature, and Philosophy. — In spite of the heavy expenses of the war, the Athenians built the Erechtheium — doubtless fulfilling the wish of Pericles.[2] In art they accomplished little for want of money, but the number of their excellent authors was increasing.

Eu-rip'i-des (480–406 B.C.), a writer of dramas, belongs to this period. His education was broad; he had been an athlete, a painter, and a student of all the philosophy of the time. No ancient writer seems so modern as he; none knew human nature so well or sympathized so deeply with it, especially with women and slaves, with the unfortunate and the lowly. His plays represent a decline in art but a great advance in kindly feeling. The most popular is the *Al-ces'tis*, in which the heroine dies to save her selfish husband's life. Among the strongest is the *Medeia*, whose plot is drawn from the voyage of the Argonauts.[3] There remain in all seventeen plays of the ninety-two attributed to him by the ancients.



Euripides
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

The most famous comic dramatist of Greece was *Aristophanes* (about 450–385 B.C.). His wit never failed; his fancy was as lively and as creative as Shakspere's; the choruses of his plays are beautiful

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit § 156.

[2] § 133.

[3] § 49.

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lyrics, fragrant of the country and woodland, free from the polish and from the restraints of life within the city. He has much, too, to tell of the times in which he lived. No one has given so true a picture of Athens and her people, and at the same time such caricatures of her individual public men. We might compare his character sketches with the cartoons of the modern newspaper. The *Clouds* is an attack on the sophists. In his *Birds* he pictures an ideal state in Cloudland, whose citizens were the fowls of the air. The *Knights* holds Cleon up to ridicule; the *Wasps* presents the Athenian jury-system in a comical light. He is said to have written fifty-four comedies, of which we have but eleven.

Thucydides wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War, including the events which led up to it. He says: "Very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a composition to be heard and forgotten."[1] In contrast with Herodotus he is not only critical but exceedingly complex in style and thought. As his work was to be of service especially to generals, he narrated campaigns with all the details, but paid little attention to internal improvements and civilization.

The *sophists*[2] continued to teach to young men the short, easy road to oratory and statesmanship which they professed to have discovered; and they were equally active in spreading their sceptical doctrines. The worthlessness of their teachings, however, was pointed out by *Socrates* (469–399 B.C.), a man whose thoughts and character have left a deep impression on the world for all time. In his youth he was but a sculptor — a tradesman from the Greek point of view; and he did not succeed in his work, as he had the habit of

[1] i. 22.

[2] § 134.

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standing for hours, or even for a day and night together, wholly lost in thought. Then, too, he believed himself inspired, — a spirit accompanied him through life warning him against doing evil. Forsaking an occupation in which, under the circumstances, he could make but a poor living, he devoted himself to searching for truth. The sophists had said, "We are ignorant"; Socrates, admitting this, heralded a new era in thought when he said, "I will seek knowledge," thus asserting, contrary to the sophists, the possibility of learning the truth. Though people called him sophist, he gave no course of study and charged no fee, but simply questioned any one whom he met till he had convinced his opponent in the argument that the latter knew nothing of the subject of conversation. In all this he thought he was fulfilling a heaven-appointed mission, — the quest of truth with the help of his fellow-men. Taking no thought of natural or of physical science, he busied himself with moral duties, inquiring, for instance, what was just and what unjust; what was bravery and what cowardice; what a state was and what the character of a statesman. True knowledge, he asserted, was the only guide to virtuous conduct. He even went so far as to say that knowledge and virtue were one and the same thing. Practically, this means little more than that a



SOCRATES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

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man should learn to think accurately and then follow the commands of his reason. In this way Socrates laid for ethical science a solid foundation, on which men could build far better than on the sands of sophistry.

His teachings benefited Athens; a few years after the war, however, his fellow-citizens, mistaking him for a sophist, condemned him to death on the ground that he had corrupted the youth, and had acted impiously toward the gods of the state (399 B.C.).

The period which we have now reviewed (479–404 B.C.) was in some respects the most brilliant in the history of Greece. Democratic institutions, which assured the freedom and equality of the citizens, reached a high degree of development in the Athens of Pericles, and in some other democratic states. Then came a long, severe struggle between democracy and oligarchy (431–404 B.C.), in which the latter won a temporary victory. It was the age of dramatic poetry, of the noblest historical writing, and of the grand in art — *the age of the most vigorous political and intellectual activity of the Greeks.*

Topics for Reading

I. The Four Hundred. — Thucydides, viii. 65–97; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 489–496; Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, pp. 192–207.

II. The Battle of Arginusae. — Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 502–504; Abbott, *History of Greece*, iii. pp. 441–449.

III. Lysander. — Plutarch, *Lysander*, *Agesilaus*; Xenophon, *Works*, translated by Dakyns (see Index); Grote, *History of Greece* (see Index).

IV. Socrates. — Jebb, *Greek Literature*, p. 125 f.; Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, pp. 170–177; Sankey, *Spartan and Theban Supremacies*, ch. iv; Gildersleeve, *Essays and Studies*, "Xanthippe and Socrates."

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CHAPTER XIII

THE END OF FREEDOM IN SICILY AND IN ITALY (413–264 B.C.)

157. The Carthaginians invade Sicily (409–404 B.C.). — The fall of Athens was a great misfortune to the Greeks of the West as well as to those of the East. For nearly seventy years the terror of her name had kept both the Carthaginians and the Persians at bay; but on the overthrow of her naval supremacy these two great foreign powers again hoped to conquer parts of Hellas. On the invitation of Segesta, which was still threatened by Selinus,[1] Carthage sent over to Sicily a vast fleet conveying an army of a hundred thousand men under King Han'ni-bal, grandson of that Hamilcar who had met his death at Himera. This great armament laid siege to Selinus; on the ninth day it stormed the city and butchered the inhabitants (409 B.C.). Thence Hannibal marched to Himera, where the siege and the massacre were repeated. Three thousand captives were led to the spot where Hamilcar had sacrificed himself,[2] and there were killed with horrid torture. In this way Hannibal sought to appease the hungry appetite of his grandfather's ghost.

A fresh army of mercenaries next *invested Acragas*, then the wealthiest and most luxurious city in the Greek world. But a pestilence in the camp killed many of the besiegers, including Hannibal. Hi-mil'con, the second in command, propitiated the angry gods with a multitude of sacrifices, among them a boy — perhaps his own son. Though reënforced by their neighbors, the inhabitants finally abandoned their city and settled in Leontini. Himilcon took up his winter quarters in deserted Acragas, and sent much of its wealth, including many works of art, to Carthage (405 B.C.).

[1] § 143. [2] § 116.

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The Sicilians felt that Acragas had been lost through the treachery of Syracusan generals sent to defend it. A young officer of Syracuse, named *Di-o-nys'i-us*, accused them in a public assembly. He persuaded the people to depose them and to elect himself and others in their place. Then by bringing charges of treason against his colleagues, he soon had them put out of office and himself made sole commander with absolute power. Immediately securing a body-guard of a thousand mercenaries, he made himself tyrant of his



TEMPLE RUINS AT SELINUS

native city. Next he compelled the people of Ge'la and of Cam-a-ri'na to abandon their cities to the invader and to retire to Syracuse. Great was the indignation of all classes against the usurper; but through his mercenaries he maintained himself against every attempt to assassinate or to depose him. In 404 B.C. he concluded a *treaty* with the Carthaginians by which he yielded to them the whole island except the Sicels — a native nation in the interior — and the Greeks of the eastern coast. The Carthaginians, for their part, acknowledged him as the absolute ruler of Syracuse.

158. War with Carthage (397–392 B.C.). — But Dionysius did not

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intend to yield Sicily forever to the enemy. Seven years he busied himself with increasing his power and with preparing for war on a grand scale. He built an immense wall about Syracuse; he organized an army of eighty thousand infantry; his engineers invented a new instrument, afterward known as the ballista, for throwing large stones against the enemy's walls. In his new fleet were more than three



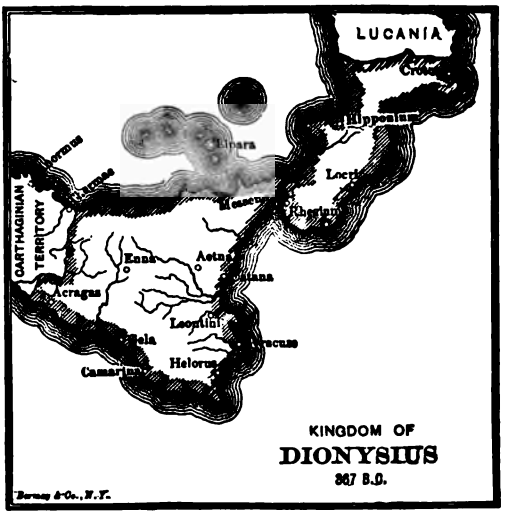
FORT EURYELUS
(A corner in the Wall of Dionysius at Syracuse; interior view)

hundred vessels, some of them quinqueremes, — huge galleys with five banks of oars, invented by his shipwrights. Though utterly unscrupulous, though he ground down the rich with taxes and violated nearly every sentiment dear to the Greek heart, yet he gained a certain degree of popularity by the military preparations which made him appear as a strong champion of Hellas against the barbarian.

He began war upon Carthage in 397 B.C., and with his vast armament nearly swept the Phoenicians from the island; but in the following year Himilcon, landing in Sicily, regained everything which

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Carthage had lost, and Messene in addition. Most of the Messenians escaped, but Himilcon compelled his men to burn the woodwork and to grind the stones to powder. The invaders then defeated the fleet of Dionysius and besieged the tyrant in Syracuse by land and sea. The newly built ramparts saved the city. A pestilence weakened the besiegers; the Greeks, taking courage, set fire to the Carthaginian fleet in the Great Harbor and from their walls watched the burning of two thousand ships. The siege was raised and the enemy pushed back till he held but the extreme western end of the island. All the rest Dionysius secured by the treaty of 392 B.C.



159. Conquests of Dionysius in Italy (to 287 B.C.); other Wars. — Even while waging war with Carthage, Dionysius had begun to threaten the Greeks of Italy, and after concluding peace he renewed his efforts to annex Magna Graecia to his own dominion. As the Italian Greeks were assailed at the same time by the Lu-ca'ni-ans, a strong tribe from the interior, they could do nothing but yield to Dionysius. In the year 387 B.C. we find his kingdom in Italy extending as far as Croton. Some of the conquered people he removed to Syracuse, others he sold into slavery. Everywhere he showed the utmost disregard for sacred places and institutions, but the Greeks were powerless to resist.

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In two more wars which he carried on with Carthage, he failed to dislodge the foreigners from Sicily, but still held the larger part of the island as well as his Italian possessions. He aided the Lacedaemonians in maintaining their supremacy over eastern Greece,[1] and his power was recognized as the greatest in the Hellenic world.

160. Dionysius in Peace; his Character.—Though engaged in wars to the end, in his later years a desire for peace grew upon him. He was a poet as well as a general. A story is told that Phi-lox'e-nus, a poet at his court, was imprisoned in a stone quarry as a punishment for criticising the tyrant's verse. When liberated soon afterward and invited to hear another recital, he endured the reading for a few moments, and then cried out, "Take me back to the stone quarry!" A splendid display of horses and chariots, of athletes and actors, which Dionysius made at the Olympic games, in like manner won no applause. The orator Lys'i-as, from Athens, tried to incite the Greeks there assembled to begin war upon the tyrant by plundering his rich tents. The holiness of the festival prevented this outrage, but the reciters of his poems were hissed and his chariots were overturned in the race. So far from winning the favor and admiration of the Greeks by his exhibit, the tyrant discovered that he was universally hated.

About this time *Plato*, the Athenian philosopher, visited the court of Dionysius, and tried to persuade the tyrant to rule according to the philosopher's lofty ideas of justice. Dionysius answered his arguments by having him exposed for sale in a slave-market. A friend ransomed him, however, and he returned to Athens.[2]

In 367 B.C. Dionysius died, after reigning thirty-eight years. No tyrant could have ruled so long without the possession of strong qualities. The private character of Dionysius was without reproach. On the other hand, he never hesitated at bloodshed, confiscation of property, or anything else which would make him safe. Many spies in his pay watched the movements of those whom he suspected at

[1] § 171. [2] § 189.

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home and abroad. With all his failings he performed a service for Greece and for Europe by protecting Hellenic civilization in Italy and Sicily.

161. Civil Strife (367–345); Timoleon the Liberator (345–337 B.C.). —A period of civil strife following the death of Dionysius was at length ended by Ti-mo'le-on, a general sent out by Corinth. Timoleon was a man of remarkable ability and strength of character. Gradually he overthrew the tyrants who since the death of Dionysius had usurped the power in many Sicilian cities. He then gave the cities good laws and settled governments. On the Cri-mi'sus River he met the vast mercenary force of Carthage which had come to Sicily for the purpose of overwhelming him. As his small army marched up the hill from the top of which the soldiers expected to get their first view of the enemy, their religious fears were aroused at sight of a train of mules laden with parsley,—a plant used for decorating tombs. But with the exclamation that the parsley chaplet was the reward of victory in the Isthmian games, Timoleon seized some of the plant and made a wreath for his head; the officers, then the soldiers, followed his example; and the army swept over the hill like a host of victorious athletes. Throwing his enthusiastic troops upon the Carthaginian centre, which had just crossed the Crimisus, he crushed it with one mighty blow. A sudden storm beat full in the faces of the enemy; thousands were drowned in attempting to recross the swollen stream, and thousands were killed or made captive. The victory was complete (340 B.C.).

When he had liberated all Greek Sicily from Carthage and from tyranny, he joined the cities in a federation, with Syracuse as leader in war. All members of the union were guaranteed their freedom. He next turned his attention to the *improvement of the country*. As the long anarchy had left large tracts of land uncultivated and without owners, he invited Greeks from other countries to come and settle on the vacant farms. Thousands answered the call; a few

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peaceful years brought prosperity to fruitful Sicily, and Timoleon lived to see the desolate island bloom again like a garden.

After ruling eight years, he resigned his dictatorship and passed the remainder of his days a private citizen of Syracuse, honored by all as their liberator. When he died his fellow-citizens established an annual festival in memory of the man "who had suppressed the tyrants, had overthrown the foreigner, had replenished the desolate cities, and had restored to the Sicilians the privilege of living under their own laws.

162. The Roman Conquest. — The golden age of Timoleon was not to continue long. Syracuse again fell under a tyrant (317 B.C.), and again the Carthaginians began to encroach upon her territory. In 280 B.C. Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus, a man of great military genius, came to western Greece with a well-organized army to save his countrymen from the Carthaginians and from a new enemy — Rome, which was beginning to press upon the Greek cities of Italy. Though he gained brilliant victories over Rome, and confined the Phoenicians of Sicily to one walled town, the ungrateful Greeks refused him their support; so he was compelled, after wasting his army, to return defeated to Epeirus (274 B.C.). Rome immediately annexed southern Italy to her own domain, then drove the Carthaginians from Sicily, and finally made this island a province in her empire.[1]

The history of *Magna Graecia* after Dionysius is similar to that of Sicily. Tarentum, hard pressed by the Lucanians, begged Pyrrhus to lend aid. His story, already outlined, will be told more fully in connection with the history of Rome.[2] The western Greeks fell under the power of Rome because their desire for local independence would not permit them to unite or to endure the dictatorship of able men.

[1] Pt. III. ch. v.

[2] § 238.

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Topics for Reading

I. Dionysius. — Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 639–666; Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 521–525, iii. pp. 130–141.

II. Timoleon. — Plutarch, *Timoleon;* Holm iii. pp. 401–404; Bury, pp. 673–679; Grote, *History of Greece*, xi. pp. 135–197.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA (404-371 B.C.)

163. The Decarchies. — The overthrow of Athens, at the end of the Peloponnesian War,[1] left Sparta supreme in the east as Syracuse was in the west. At the summit of power stood Lysander, who had done more than any other man to bring eastern Greece under Spartan leadership. He now had an excellent opportunity to improve upon the rule of Athens; but though a man of rare talents, he lacked the genius for such a task. He could think of nothing beyond the long-established Spartan and Athenian methods of dealing with allies and subjects.



SPARTAN VASE

In each newly allied state, accordingly, he set up a decarchy, or board of ten oligarchs, with full control of the government. To support the decarchies, he stationed Lacedaemonian garrisons in most of the cities. The commander, termed "harmost," was usually a man

[1] § 155.

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of low birth, servile to Lysander and brutal toward the defenceless people over whom he kept watch. Relying on his support, the oligarchs killed or expelled their political enemies, confiscated property through sheer greed, and mistreated the women and children. While Athens ruled, a man could feel that life, property, and family were safe; but under Sparta the Greeks found themselves degraded to the condition of perioeci (§ 87).

164. The Thirty at Athens (404–403 B.C.). — At Athens Lysander caused a board of thirty to be established with absolute authority over the state. The guiding spirit of the board was Crit'i-as, a noble of the highest rank. He was a musician and a poet, a rhetorician, philosopher, and politician. With all his varied accomplishments, he had no depth or strong feelings, but was cold and calculating, ambitious and unscrupulous; within his short career he developed a strange appetite for blood and plunder.

Soon after taking possession of the government, the Thirty began to kill their political opponents. For their own safety, they called in a Lacedaemonian force of seven hundred men, and lodged it in the Acropolis at the expense of the state. Supported by these troops, the Thirty proceeded with their bloody work. As they often murdered men for their property, they preferred wealthy victims, whether alien residents or aristocrats. Hundreds fled into exile; but the Spartan ephors, to uphold the Thirty, warned the fugitives away from all parts of Greece. Some of the states sheltered them in defiance of the ephors. Thebes, long the enemy of Athens, became their rallying-place. Their number daily increased owing to the cruelty of the government at home.

165. Democracy restored (403 B.C.). — The crowd of exiles swelled into an army. At the head of seventy patriots, Thrasybulus crossed the border from Thebes, seized Phy'le, a strong fort high up on Mount Par'nes, and held it against an attack of the enemy. With his army increased to a thousand, he soon afterward seized Peiraeus. When

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the Thirty with their Lacedaemonian garrison and citizen supporters marched down to attack him, the patriots defeated them and killed Critias. Lysander interfered to uphold the tyrants, but Pausanias, a Spartan king, through jealousy of Lysander gave his aid with more effect to the patriots.

The king persuaded the supporters of the oligarchy and the returned exiles to be friends to each other. All were pardoned for wrong-doing except the Thirty and a few other guilty officials. The Athenians now had *enough of oligarchy*. Their two recent experiments in that form of constitution — the rule of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty — proved that the government of the so-called "better class" was a delusion and a lie, and that the men who claimed superior privileges on the ground of virtue were in reality cutthroats and robbers. The great mass of people, who had little wealth or education, were far more obedient to law and exercised greater self-control in public life. Henceforth Athens was content with democracy.

166. The Expedition of Cyrus (401 B.C.). — Although the Thirty fell, the Lacedaemonians upheld the decarchies in the other cities of their empire. It was a part of their policy as well to keep on good terms with Cyrus, who had done so much to give them the victory over Athens. On the death of Darius, the late king of Persia, Ar-tax-erx'es, his elder son, succeeded to the throne, while Cyrus, the younger, still held at Sardis the command of the most desirable part of Asia Minor.[1] Wishing to be king in place of his brother, Cyrus prepared a force of a hundred thousand Asiatic troops and thirteen thousand Greeks. The Lacedaemonians not only favored his enlistment of these mercenaries from Greece, but even sent him seven hundred heavy-armed troops from their own state. With these forces the prince marched into the very heart of the Persian empire, and met his brother in battle at Cu-nax'a, near Babylon. Cyrus was killed and his Asiatics retired from the field; but the little Hellenic

[1] § 152.

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force was victorious over the king's army, which numbered four hundred thousand or more.

Then the Greeks, under a truce, began *their retreat* in a northerly direction. Their generals were entrapped and slain by Tissaphernes, a rival of Cyrus, but they appointed new leaders. And though they were beset on all sides by enemies and were traversing a country wholly unknown to them and exceedingly difficult of passage, they kept their courage and discipline, and proved by their conduct that the Greeks were able to govern themselves. More than eight thousand reached the Black Sea in safety and thence returned to Greece. Xen'o-phon, an Athenian of the school of Socrates, the philosopher, was the inspiring genius of the retreat; it was owing to his prudence and eloquence that the army held together at critical moments. If the story of the retreat of the "Ten Thousand," which Xenophon tells so interestingly in his *An-ab'a-sis*, is true, the author must have been one of the ablest commanders of his age (§§ 156, 189).

167. War between Lacedaemon and Persia (beginning 400 B.C.). — The expedition of Cyrus had two important effects: (1) it brought the Persian power into contempt among the Greeks; and (2) it immediately caused war between Persia and Lacedaemon. For this state, by supporting Cyrus, had incurred the anger of the Persian king. A strong force of Peloponnesians crossed to Asia Minor, and joining the remnant of the Ten Thousand, began war upon the Persians. In 396 B.C. A-ges-i-la'us, who had recently succeeded to one of the thrones at Sparta, came with a few thousand additional troops and took command in person. The little lame king was gentle and courteous. Faithful in friendship, simple in life, and incorruptible, he was an ideal Spartan. Though forty years of age at his accession, he was wholly without experience in command; but he proved himself an able king and general. With his small army he freed the Greeks of Asia Minor from the Persian yoke. As the expedition of Cyrus had taught him how weak Persia was, he even hoped to overthrow her empire. This conquest, when effected, was to give the

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Greeks an almost boundless field for commerce and colonization. Now that it was suggested, they never lost sight of the idea till it was realized.[1]

168. The Corinthian War (395–387 B.C.). — The dream of Agesilaus was rudely disturbed by trouble at home. Sparta was selfish and tyrannical; the greater allied states, as Thebes and Corinth, wished a share in her supremacy; the lesser communities desired at least their



CITADEL OF CORINTH

independence. As they were all disappointed in their hopes, they began to show discontent. In 395 B.C. they provoked Lacedaemon to a war which lasted eight years. This is called the Corinthian War, because the struggle centred chiefly about Corinth and the Isthmus. Athens, Corinth, and several other states took the side of Thebes, while Persia supplied the funds.

In the second year of the war, a combined Greek and Phoenician fleet under Conon,[2] the Athenian admiral, destroyed the fleet of

[1] § 192.

[2] § 154.

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Lacedaemon off *Cni'dus*. Thus the Spartan naval supremacy fell at a single blow. Conon sailed from island to island, expelling the harmosts and freeing all from Lacedaemonian rule. The next year he anchored his fleet in the harbors of Peiraeus, and with the help of Persia and of the neighbors of Athens he began to rebuild the Long Walls.

Nearer home the Lacedaemonians were scarcely more fortunate. Lysander was killed; King Pausanias proved incapable; it became necessary therefore to recall *Agesilaus*. This was a grievous blow to his hopes; both commander and soldiers regretted to give up the war with Persia in order to turn their arms against their fellow-Hellenes. "To aid the fatherland," he said to the Asiatic Greeks, "is an imperative duty. If, however, matters turn out well on the other side, rely upon it, friends and allies, I will not forget you, but shall be back anon to carry out your wishes." But the victories he gained on his return helped Sparta little. She received a severe and lasting shock at the hands of I-phic'ra-tes. The achievement of this Athenian general was to make light troops so efficient as to cope successfully with heavy infantry. First he made their shields smaller and their pikes and swords heavier and longer.[1] Then he put them through a careful training that they might act as individuals rather than in mass. After experimenting successfully with his light-armed troops to assure himself of their superiority to heavy-armed, he attacked in the neighborhood of Corinth a *Mo'ra*, or battalion, of Spartan heavy infantry, six hundred strong, and cut it to pieces. The Lacedaemonians never fully recovered from the blow; the military organization which had always been the foundation of their supremacy in Greece proved defective.

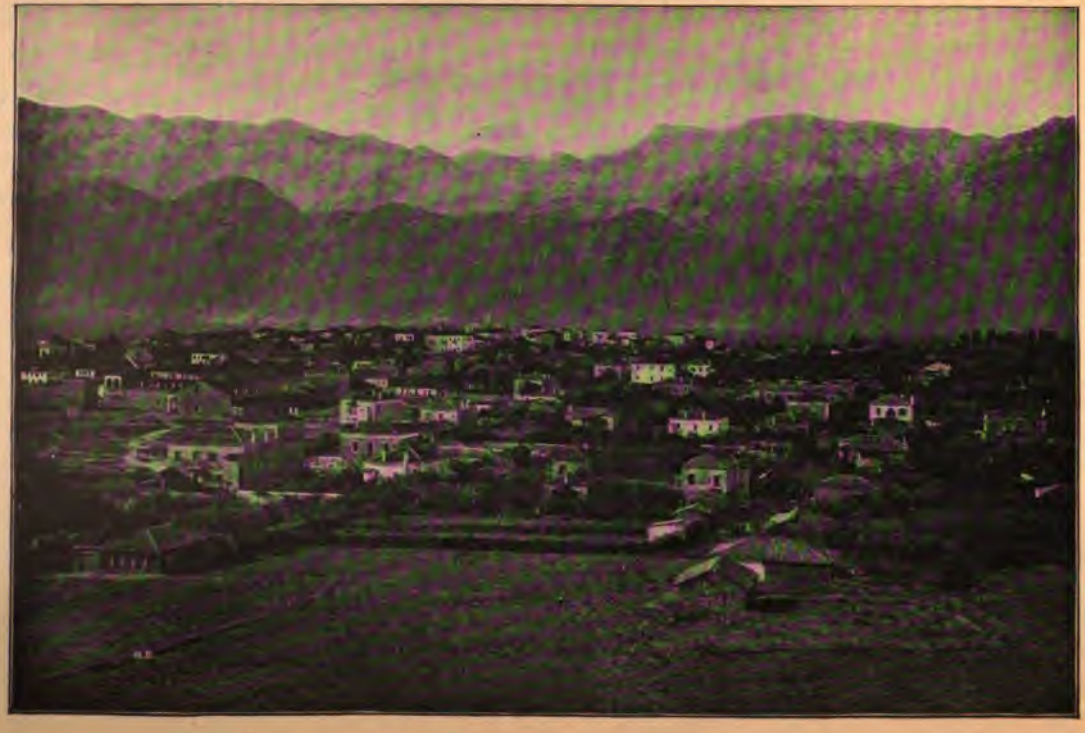
169. The Treaty of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — They acknowledged their failure in the war by coming to terms with Persia. The king was ready to use his money and influence for the preservation of a peace which should assure him the possession of Asia Minor; and

[1] § 87, n. 2.

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THE MODERN TOWN OF SPARTA

(Mount Taygetus in the background.)

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Lacedaemon could do nothing but accept his terms. Accordingly her ambassador An-tal'ci-das, and Tir-i-ba'zus, the king's legate, invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis for the purpose of concluding peace. When they arrived, Tiribazus showed them the king's seal on a document which he held in his hand, and read from it the following terms imposed by Persia upon the Greeks: "King Artaxerxes deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Cla-zom'e-nae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both small and great, he will leave independent, with the exception of Lem'nos, Im'bros, and Scy'ros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties concerned not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views, will war against the offenders by land and sea, with ships and money."[1] As the Greeks believed it impossible to wage war successfully with Lacedaemon and Persia at once, they accepted the terms. It was well understood that Lacedaemon was to enforce the treaty for the king; and this position made her again the undisputed head of eastern Greece.

170. The Violence of Sparta. — The Lacedaemonians still ruled according to the policy of Lysander, — a combination of brute force and cunning. It was their aim to weaken the states from which they might expect resistance. First they destroyed the city of Mantineia, and scattered the inhabitants in villages. Then in northern Greece they assailed the Chalcidic League, which though newly formed had already grown powerful. While at war with this league, they seized the Cadmeia — the citadel of Thebes — and occupied it with a garrison in open violation of law (383 B.C.). Even the citizens of Sparta, not to speak of the Greeks in general, were indignant with the officer who had done the violent deed; but Agesilaus excused him on the ground that the act was advantageous to Sparta, thus setting forth the principle that Greece was to be ruled for the benefit merely of the governing city. Though the Lacedaemonians pun-

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 1.

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ished the officer, they approved the deed by leaving the garrison in the Cadmeia.

"On every side the affairs of *Lacedaemon had signally prospered*: Thebes and the other Boeotian states lay absolutely at her feet; Corinth had become her most faithful ally; Argos . . . was humbled to the dust; Athens was isolated; and lastly, those of her own allies who had displayed a hostile feeling toward her had been punished; so that, to all outward appearance, the foundations of her empire were well and firmly laid.

"Abundant examples might be found alike in Hellenic and in foreign history, to prove that the divine powers mark what is done amiss, winking neither at impiety nor at the commission of unhallowed acts; in the present instance, the Lacedaemonians, who had pledged themselves by oath to leave the states independent, had laid violent hands on the citadel of Thebes, and were eventually punished by the victims of that iniquity single-handed." [1]

171. **Tyranny arouses Resistance.** — With these words Xenophon, the historian, prepares the reader for understanding the sudden reverse in the fortunes of the Lacedaemonians. Their city was now the acknowledged leader of all eastern Greece, supported by Persia in the East and by Dionysius in the West. But their policy was soon to awaken forces which were to overthrow their supremacy forever. Resistance was first aroused in Thebes, where the oppressor's hand was heaviest. In that city the polemarchs, as representatives of the oligarchic party in league with Sparta, ruled by terrorism, imprisoning some opponents and banishing others. The exiles took refuge in Athens, and there found sympathy. Among the refugees was *Pe-lop'-i-das*, a wealthy Theban, full of patriotism and brave to recklessness, — the very man his city needed to save her. Pelopidas had left behind him in Thebes an intimate friend, *Ep-am-in-on'das*, an orator of remarkable keenness and force, and a philosopher.

The oligarchs thought Epaminondas a harmless dreamer; but

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 3–4.

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while they allowed him to remain unmolested at home, he was attracting into his school the most capable youths of Thebes, and was arousing in them the moral power which was to set his country free. The young Thebans, who delighted in physical training, learned from the philosopher that mere size of muscle was of no advantage, that they should aim rather at agility and endurance. He encouraged them to wrestle with the Lacedaemonian soldiers in the Cadmeia, that when the crisis should come, they might meet them without fear.

172. The Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.). — Meantime Pelopidas at Athens was planning to return with the exiles to overthrow the oligarchy. He often told them at their meetings that it was both dishonorable and impious to neglect their enslaved country, and that they should emulate the heroic courage of Thrasybulus; as he had advanced from Thebes to break the power of the Athenian tyrants, so they should march from Athens to free Thebes. Four years passed in this manner, and it was now the winter of 379 B.C. The Chalcidic League had fallen, resistance to Sparta was becoming every day more hopeless, there was need of haste.

Selecting a hundred of his most faithful friends, Pelopidas led them to Eleusis. There twelve of the younger men, including himself, eagerly undertook the dangerous task of striking a secret blow for their country. They dressed themselves like huntsmen, and accompanied by dogs, crossed Mount Parnes toward Thebes in groups of two and three. A snow-storm had just set in when at dark these men, their faces muffled in their cloaks, entered the city by various gates and met another band of conspirators in the house of their leader. On the following night an official who was also in the plot held a banquet, to which he invited all the polemarchs except one, who was the head of the oligarchic party.

While these magistrates were carousing, some of the conspirators entered disguised as women and killed them. At the same time Pelopidas with two companions went to the house of the remaining

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polemarch, and after a hard struggle made away with him. The next morning Epaminondas introduced the leaders of the conspiracy to the assembled citizens, who elected them Boeotarchs, or chief magistrates of Boeotia. A democracy was now established, and the garrison in the Cadmeia surrendered with the privilege of departing unharmed. Thebes was again free.

173. The Athenian Maritime Confederacy (377 B.C.). — The Athenians, though in sympathy with their neighbor, would gladly have remained neutral, had not Lacedaemon driven them to war by a treacherous attempt to seize Peiraeus. They renewed their alliance with the maritime cities which had deserted them for Sparta but were now seeking their protection. The new league was to be a union of the Greeks for the defence of their liberties against Sparta. Each allied state sent a deputy to a congress at Athens. It was agreed that the leading city alone should have no representative in this body in order that the deputies might not be influenced by the presidency or even by the presence of an Athenian. To be binding, a measure had to receive the approval of both Athens and congress. This arrangement made the leading city equal to all the others combined, but prevented her from acquiring absolute power such as she had exercised over the members of the earlier confederacy. There were still to be contributions of ships and money, but as Athens was no longer in a position to compel the allies to perform their duties, the league remained far weaker than it had been in the preceding century.

174. The Peace Convention (371 B.C.). — As the new alliance included Thebes and about seventy other cities, it was more than a match for Peloponnese; but the Thebans finally withdrew from the war and busied themselves with subduing the Boeotian towns. Athens, left to carry on the struggle alone and displeased with the policy of Thebes, opened negotiations with Lacedaemon. Thereupon a convention of all the Greek states met in Sparta to establish an Hellenic peace. Though the treaty of Antalcidas was renewed,

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the Persian king could no longer arbitrate among the Greeks, — they now felt able to manage their own affairs. It is interesting to see them acting together in the interest of peace and endeavoring to form one Hellenic state on the basis of local independence and equal rights. The convention resolved to accept peace on the understanding that every Greek state should be independent and that all fleets and armies should be disbanded.

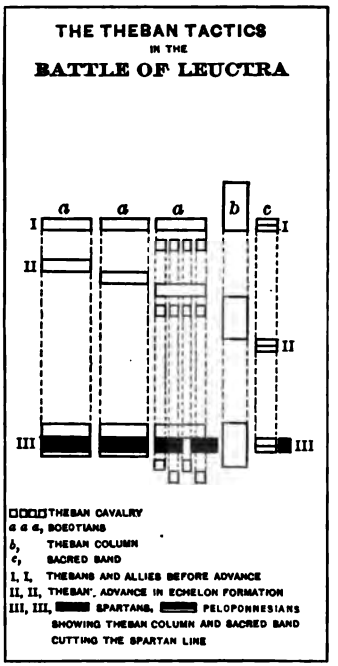
Though all were ready to make peace on these terms, trouble arose in regard to *ratifying the treaty*. Sparta insisted on signing it in behalf of her allies, but would not grant the same privilege to Thebes. When, accordingly, Agesilaus demanded that the Boeotian towns should be permitted to sign for themselves, Epaminondas, the Theban deputy, declared that his city had as good a right to represent all Boeotia as Sparta to represent all Laconia. His boldness startled the convention. For ages the Greeks had stood in awe of Sparta, and no one had dared question her authority within the borders of Lacedaemon. But the deputy from Thebes was winning his point with the members, when Agesilaus in great rage sprang to his feet and bade him say once for all whether Boeotia should be independent. "Yes, if you will give the same freedom to Laconia," Epaminondas replied. The Spartan king then struck the name of Thebes from the list of states represented in the convention, excluding her thus from the peace.

175. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). — The treaty was signed, the convention dissolved, the deputies returned home. All eyes turned toward the impending conflict; every one expected to see the city of Epaminondas punished, perhaps destroyed, for the boldness of her leader.

Leuctra was a small town in Boeotia southwest of Thebes. The battle fought there in 371 B.C. was in its political effects the most important in which Greeks only were engaged; to the student of military affairs it is one of the most interesting in history.

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As a result of studies in military science Epaminondas introduced a sweeping revolution in warfare. The Boeotians had always made excellent soldiers, and as far back as the battle of Delium[1] their commander had won by massing his men in a heavy phalanx.[2] This solid body of infantry was to be the chief element in the new military system; Epaminondas was to convert the experiences of his countrymen into the most important principle of military science — the principle of concentrating the attack upon a single point of the enemy's line. Opposite to the Peloponnesian right, made up of Lacedaemonians under one of their kings, he massed his left in a column fifty deep and led it to the attack. The enemy, drawn up uniformly twelve deep in the old-fashioned way, could not withstand the terrific shock. The Boeotian centre purposely advanced more slowly than the column, and the right still more slowly, so that these divisions of the line took only the slightest part in the battle. But the Boeotian horsemen, who were well trained and high-spirited, easily put to rout the inefficient cavalry of the enemy; and the Sacred Band, Epaminondas' school of Theban youths, followed the impetuous Pelopidas in an irresistible charge on the extreme Spartan right. The king was killed, his army thoroughly beaten by a much smaller force, and the supremacy of Sparta was at an end.



[1] § 141. [2] p. 99, n. 1.

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Topics for Reading

I. Critias. — See Indices in Xenophon, *Works* (translated by Dakyns), and in the various histories of Greece.

II. The Expedition of Cyrus. — Xenophon, *Anabasis;* Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. pp. 2–6; Timayenis, *History of Greece*, Pt. VI. ch. ii.

III. Society and Government of Sparta in the Time of Agesilaus. — Xenophon, *Republic of the Lacedaemonians*, in *Works;* Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 256–261; Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. V. ch. iii.



SPARTAN MOSAIC

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CHAPTER XV

THEBES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE SUPREMACY (371–362 B.C.)

176. Effects of the Battle on Sparta. — "After these events, a messenger was despatched to Lacedaemon with news of the misfortune. He reached his destination on the last day of the gym-no-pae'di-ae,[1] just when the chorus of grown men had entered the theatre. The ephors heard the mournful tidings not without grief and pain, as needs they must, I take it; but for all that they did not dismiss the chorus, but allowed the contest to run out its natural course. What they did was to deliver the names of those who had fallen to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, whilst of those whose friends were reported to be living, barely a man was to be seen, and these flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation."[2]

Spartan laws degraded runaways, and deprived them of citizenship and of all other honors; they had to go unwashed and meanly clad, with beards half shaven. Any one who met them in the street was at liberty to beat them and they dared not resist. On the present occasion Sparta had sent out seven hundred citizens, of whom three hundred had disgraced themselves by surviving defeat. What should be done with them? Being so numerous, they might resist punish-

[1] A great festival at Sparta in honor of Apollo, Artemis, and their mother Leto. It was chiefly an exhibition of gymnastics, music, and dancing given by boys, youths, and men.

[2] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 4.

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ment ; and besides, as Sparta had only about fifteen hundred citizens remaining, to disfranchise three hundred would be ruinous. Agesilaus, who was requested by the government to settle this serious question, decided to let the law sleep in the present case, to be revived, however, for the future. In this way he piloted his country safely through the crisis.



MOUNT ITHOME AND CITY WALL OF MESSENE

177. Effects of the Battle on Peloponnese. — In Peloponnese the wildest confusion and anarchy arose. To the friends of Sparta it seemed that the world was falling into chaos, now that she had lost control, while her enemies rejoiced in the freedom assured them by her downfall. The first to profit by the revolution were the Arcadians, most of whom were still shepherds and peasants living in villages, and following the Lacedaemonians in war. They now resolved to unite in a permanent league for the defence of their liberties. While the Mantineians were rebuilding their city, which Sparta

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had destroyed,[1] the league founded a new city, Meg-a-lop'o-lis, to be the seat of government, and a stronghold against Sparta. When the Arcadians were attacked by the Lacedaemonians, Epaminondas came to their help at the head of an army of Thebans and their allies — in all, seventy thousand men. With this great host *he invaded Laconia*, and ravaged it from end to end; for the first time in history, Spartan women saw the smoke from the camp-fires of an enemy. The city was in a tumult, — the old men were enraged at the present condition of things, and the women in their terror caused more confusion than the invaders. Agesilaus, weighed down with age, saw the great power which he had inherited falling to pieces about him, conspiracies forming on every hand among high and low, the perioeci trooping off to join the enemy, the helots in rebellion, and himself reproached as the "kindler of the war." Still he applied himself with energy and courage to the sore task of defending his unwalled city. Unable to capture Sparta, Epaminondas went to Messenia to aid the revolt of that country. With his help the Messenians built and fortified a new city, Messene, near the citadel of Mount Ithome, on a spot made sacred by many an heroic struggle for liberty.

178. The Failure of Thebes. — Within the next few years the Thebans extended their influence over Thessaly and Macedon. As the majority of the continental states were their allies, they were now the controlling power through the entire length of the peninsula. But the Thebans were no better qualified for ruling than the Spartans had been. Their chief fault was their narrowness. Instead of making all the Boeotians Thebans with full privileges in the leading city, they attempted to subject them to the condition of perioeci; and some towns they even destroyed. Their more remote allies they had no thought of binding to themselves by institutions such as hold the states of our nation together. Epaminondas erred greatly, too, in assuming that the peasants of Messenia and Arcadia, who were absolutely without political experience, would at once

[1] § 170.

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succeed in self-government under constitutions made for them by strangers. It was not thus that the Romans, the English, and the Americans became self-governing. The Thebans merely substituted chaos for order. Peloponnese, united under Lacedaemon, had been the citadel of Hellas, the centre of resistance to foreign aggression; and though Sparta was despotic, the Greek states had been learning of late to guard their liberties against her, while they still looked to her for protection and guidance in time of danger. All this was now changed. When Sparta had fallen, Thebes, taking her place, broke up Peloponnese into warring camps, weakened the only power which was capable of defending Hellas, and spread confusion everywhere.

When it became apparent to the Thebans themselves that they were *too weak to maintain order* in Hellas, they sent Pelopidas as ambassador to Susa to bring the influence and money of the king to bear once more in favor of peace. Artaxerxes was ready to dictate another treaty; but the Greeks had learned to despise him, and would no longer endure his interference. As this disgraceful business failed, Epaminondas turned resolutely to the almost hopeless task of reducing Greece to order by force of iron. The chief resistance to his plan came now from Athens. The maritime city he had to meet on her own element, as she refused to dismantle her fleet at the command of Persia. Though as well supplied as Attica with coasts, Boeotia had little commerce and no fleet worthy of mention before the time of Epaminondas. But suddenly his state became a naval power, the great tactician stepped into the place of admiral, and an armament went forth to sweep Athens from the sea. Could he have been free a year or two to carry on his naval operations, he might by overthrowing the rule of Athens have introduced as much confusion into the Aegean Sea as he had brought to Peloponnese by the ruin of Lacedaemon.

179. The Battle of Mantineia (362 B.C.). — But Epaminondas had no time for this. He had already made three invasions of

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Peloponnese, and again he found it necessary to march across the Isthmus to restore order. Many allies joined him; Athens and Sparta were his chief enemies. The Theban commander attempted by forced marches to capture Sparta, then Mantineia, in the hope that he might thus establish peace without a battle; but in both attempts he failed.

Then came the conflict at Mantineia. Notwithstanding their tedious journeys, the condition of his troops was excellent; they



THE PLAIN OF MANTINEIA

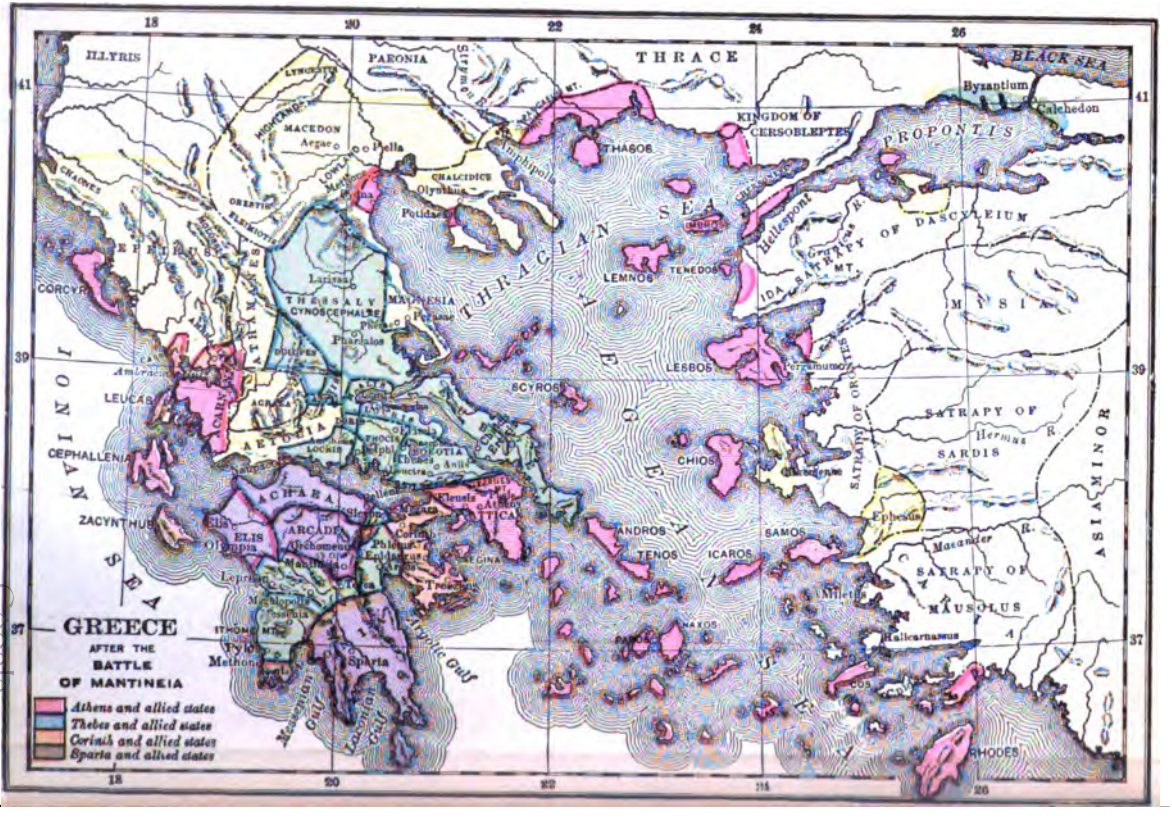
were full of enthusiasm and had absolute confidence in their commander. "There was no labor which they would shrink from, either by night or by day; there was no danger they would flinch from; and with the scantiest provisions, their discipline never failed them. And so, when he gave them his last orders to prepare for impending battle, they obeyed with alacrity. He spoke the word; the cavalry fell to whitening their helmets, the heavy infantry of the Arcadians began inscribing the club (of Heracles) as a crest on their shields,

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GREECE
AFTER THE
BATTLE
OF MANTINEIA
Athens and allied states
Thebes and allied states
Corinth and allied states
Sparta and allied states
ILLYRIS
PAEONIA
THRACE
BLACK SEA
MACEDON
Aegae
Pella
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Potidaea
Amphipolis
THASOS
KINGDOM OF
CERSOBLEPTES
Byzantium
Calchedon
PROPONTIS
THESSALY
CYNOSCEPHALAE
Larissa
MAGNESIA
Pherae
Pharsalos
THERMAIC GULF
THRACIAN SEA
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Hellespont
SATRAPY OF DASCYLEIUM
IDA MT.
MYSIA
CORCYRA
IONIAN SEA
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
AETOLIA
LOCRIS
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Delphi
ATTICA
Athens
Piraeus
ACHAEA
ARCADIA
ELIS
Olympia
Megalopolis
Tegea
Sparta
Methone
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
LESBOS
SCYROS
Pergamum
SATRAPY OF ORONTES
SATRAPY OF
Hermus R.
SARDIS
ASIA MINOR
CHIOS
Clazomenae
Ephesus
ANDROS
TENOS
ICAROS
SAMOS
Maeander R.
SATRAPY OF
MAUSOLUS
Miletus
NAXOS
Halicarnassus
RHODES
CRETAN SEA
18
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37

in imitation of the Thebans, and all were engaged in sharpening their lances and swords and in polishing their heavy shields."[1]

Taking the enemy by surprise, Epaminondas repeated the tactics of Leuctra with perfect success. His flying column, now in the form of a wedge, cut through the opposing ranks and shattered the enemy's host.

The great commander fell mortally wounded with a javelin. Carried to the rear, he heard the victorious shouts of the Thebans, but when told that his fellow-generals were both dead, he advised his countrymen to make peace. The surgeon then drew out the javelin point and Epaminondas died. Pelopidas had recently been slain in battle in Thessaly. The heroes were buried where they fell; and their gravestones in northern and southern Greece stood as monuments of *Theban leadership*, which *ended with their lives*.

Pelopidas was bold and chivalrous, a zealous patriot and an able commander. Epaminondas was a great military genius. Personally he was without ambition, content to live as a private citizen, or to serve his state in the lowest offices. Absolutely pure in character, he aimed only to promote the welfare of his city and of Hellas. Though in statesmanship he was as able as any of his time, though his ideals were high and his methods honorable, he failed to discover the evils of the Hellenic state system, much more to remedy them. Fortune was kind to him and to his worthy helper in cutting them off at the height of their renown, — before they could see the failure of their policy and be made responsible for it.

180. The Result of the Battle. — The result of the battle of Mantineia was the opposite of that which the world expected. "Here where well-nigh the whole of Hellas was met together in one field, and the combatants stood rank against rank confronted, there was no one who doubted that, in the event of battle, the conquerors this day would rule, and those who lost would be their subjects. But God so ordered it that both belligerents alike set up trophies claiming victory,

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5.

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and neither interfered with the other in the act. Both parties alike gave back their enemy's dead under a truce, and in right of victory; both alike, in symbol of defeat, under a truce took back their dead. And though both claimed to have won the day, neither could show that he had gained thereby any accession of territory, or state, or empire, or was better situated than before the battle. Uncertainty and confusion indeed had gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breadth of Hellas after the battle than before."[1] The conflict decided that no single city was strong enough to rule Greece. The task of uniting Greece under one government was left to Macedon, — which was not a city-state like Sparta, Athens, or Thebes, but a territorial state like those of modern times (§ 65).

Topics for Reading

Epaminondas. — Plutarch, *Pelopidas;* Xenophon, *Works* (translated by Dakyns; see Index); Sankey, *Spartan and Theban Supremacies*, chs. xi, xii; Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 566, 592–626; Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. chs. viii–x; Curtius, *History of Greece*, Bk. VI.

[1] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5.



BATTLE BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE AMAZONS
(Frieze of the Mausoleum, Halicarnassus)

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CHAPTER XVI

THE RISE OF MACEDON (TO 338 B.C.)

181. Country and People. — Macedon is the basin of a single river-system. Its waters in their upper course run through plains separated by high mountains, and then flow together in three parallel streams to the sea. It is somewhat like a hand with radiating fingers reaching from the coast into the continent. The country was made



A SCENE IN MACEDONIA

up accordingly of two distinct regions: the Highland, including the mountains and plains of the interior; and the Lowland, nearer the sea.

Dense forests nearly covered the Highland, even as late as the fourth century B.C. The sparse population lived in hovels, dressed in skins, and fed their few sheep on the mountain sides. Their habits

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were warlike: the youth could not sit at table with the men till he had killed a wild boar, and he who had slain no foe had to wear a rope about his body as a sign that he was not yet free. They ate from wooden dishes; they fought with the rudest weapons; poverty and exposure were toughening them into excellent material for soldiers.

In each separate valley dwelt a tribe under the rule of a king and nobles, as it had been in the Greece of Homer's day. The Macedonians were indeed Greeks who had not yet emerged from barbarism. The Lowlanders, however, were rapidly learning the ideas and the useful arts of the Hellenic colonies along their coasts. By adopting the military system and the armor of the civilized Greeks, A-myn'tas, king of the Lowlands, compelled the Highlanders to acknowledge him as their lord. In this way the tribes of Macedon were brought together under one head.

182. Philip. — After the death of this king (369 B.C.), the Thebans interfered in Macedon and carried away his youngest son Philip, a youth of fifteen, as a hostage. Thebes was then at the height of her glory: her generals and her army were the best in the world; her schools, streets, market-place, and assembly thronged with busy life; her arsenals sounded continually with preparations for war. The royal youth came a half-barbarian, with a voracious appetite for learning everything which would be useful to his country; he returned a civilized Greek, with an ambition to be the maker of a nation.

Soon afterward the king, an elder brother, fell while fighting against the rebellious Highlanders; and Philip mounted the throne, beset on all sides with difficulties and dangers.

Within the next two years he had proved his right to rule by overcoming his domestic foes, defeating his hostile neighbors, and seating himself firmly in power. It became evident at once that he intended to enlarge his kingdom by subduing the surrounding states. First he wished to annex the coast cities that he might have free access to the

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sea. Some of these cities were allies of Athens, and others belonged to the Chalcidic Federation, restored after its overthrow by Lacedaemon. Grossly deceiving both Athenians and Chalcidians as to his purpose, he robbed Athens of her allies on the coast and seized Amphipolis, the greatest commercial city in the neighborhood. It must be said in his favor that he treated his new subjects with the utmost fairness, granting their cities more rights than the native Macedonians enjoyed.

183. War between Philip and Athens (357–346 B.C.). — In anger Athens broke the peace with him, but could do nothing more because she was engaged at the same time in a social war, — that is, a war with some of her allies who had revolted. She showed great weakness through this period in all her dealings with other states, as so many of her citizens were opposed to an active foreign policy. She failed in the social war, and ended it by granting independence to the seceding states, Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium. Other allies deserted, till only Euboea and a few small islands were left, whose war contributions amounted to no more than forty-five talents a year. Philip, on the other hand, acquired enormous revenues by seizing Mount Pangaeus and working its gold mines. This source yielded him a thousand talents a year. With the money he was enabled to keep up a standing army, build a fleet from the timber of the forests about Pangaeus, and bribe supporters in nearly every city of Greece. His immediate aim, however, was to make himself master of Thessaly; and the opportunity soon offered itself.

184. The Sacred War (356–346 B.C.). — About the time when Athens broke peace with him, trouble arose between Phocis and Thebes. The Phocians, like the Macedonians, were a fresh, vigorous race, whose martial strength and ardor had not yet been softened by commerce and city life. As they refused to submit to Thebes, this city persuaded the Amphictyonic Council to declare a sacred war[1] upon them on a false charge of having wronged Apollo. To pay the

[1] § 66.

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expenses of the war, the Phocian commanders borrowed large sums of money from the Delphic treasury, — a perfectly honorable transaction, as Delphi was a Phocian city and the war was in self-defence; yet the enemies of the little state cried out hypocritically against this still more impious crime against the god. By means of this money the Phocian general brought together a great army of mercenaries, with which he overran Locris, Doris, and Boeotia, seized the pass of Thermopylae, defeated Philip twice in Thessaly, and drove him back to Macedon. For a time it seemed probable that the Phocians would become the leading state in Hellas; but as their power depended chiefly on mercenaries, the exhaustion of the Delphic treasury would soon bring it to an end. The unfortunate campaign of Philip merely spurred him to greater exertions. In the following year he reappeared with an army in Thessaly, defeated the Phocians, and drove them behind Thermopylae. Their commander was killed by his own men in the flight, and Philip in an outburst of barbarism ordered the body to be nailed to a cross. Only the timely arrival of an Athenian force prevented the victorious king from passing through Thermopylae into central Greece. However, all Thessaly was now his, and immediately afterward he conquered Thrace nearly to the Hellespont.

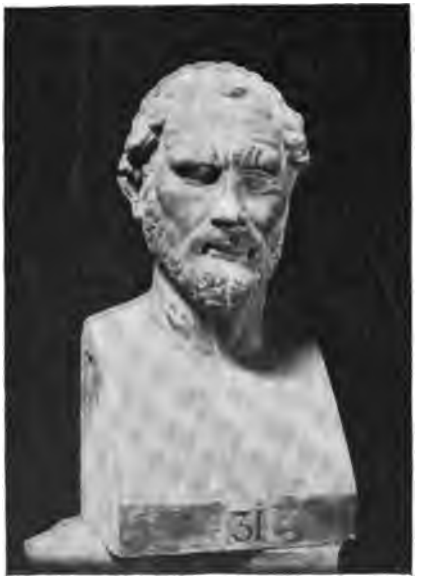
185. **Philip and Chalcidice (352–349 B.C.); Demosthenes.** — Up to this time the Chalcidians had been in alliance with Philip, whom they looked upon as a petty tribal chief. But alarmed at the wonderful growth of his power, they made peace with Athens in violation of their agreement with him. The crafty king let three years slip quietly by, during which he won over to himself by threats and bribes a considerable party in every Chalcidic town; then, when fully prepared for war, he ordered O-lyn'thus[1] to give up his stepbrother, who had taken refuge from him in that city. As Greeks considered it a religious duty to harbor exiles, Olynthus refused, and sent at the same time an appeal to Athens for help. Among the

[1] The chief city of Chalcidice.

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speakers in the Athenian assembly when this subject came up for consideration was the man who was to be known through future ages as the antagonist of Philip, — Demosthenes, the most eminent orator the world has known.

Demosthenes was only seven years old when his father, a wealthy manufacturer, died, whereupon the guardians took most of the estate for themselves. He was a slender, sallow boy, who, instead of joining with comrades in the sports of the gymnasium, stayed at home with his mother, nursing his wrath against the unfaithful guardians till it became the ruling passion of his youth. To prepare himself for prosecuting them he studied legal oratory under an experienced master. It is said, too, that even in youth he resolved to become a statesman; but his voice was defective, his body weak and awkward, his habits unsocial, — his whole nature unfitted for such a calling. Strength of soul, however, made up for personal disadvantages. He trained his voice and delivery under a successful actor; he studied the great masterpieces of Attic prose; he steeled his will and so exercised his mental muscles that they became capable of the highest and most prolonged tension. Severe toil, continued through many years, gave him his genius. Success in prosecuting the guardians led to speech-writing as a



DEMOSTHENES
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

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profession, from which he gradually made his way into public life.

He was the first to foresee the danger to Hellenic freedom from Philip, and lost no time or zeal in warning Athens to meet it while it was yet far off. In 352 B.C. he began his opposition to the king of Macedon in an oration called his *First Philippic;* and when envoys from Olynthus begged Athens for an alliance, he urged his countrymen to accept the opportunity. "Give prompt and vigorous assistance, use your surplus revenues for war rather than for festivals; be not content with sending mercenaries, but take the field yourselves against Philip, and you will certainly defeat him, for his strength is derived from your weak policy, his power is based on injustice, and all his subjects will revolt, if only you give them a little encouragement and support." Such were the sentiments of his *Olynthiac Orations.* He tried to inspire his countrymen with the vigor and ambition of their fathers, who had beaten down Persia and had founded an empire; yet his words had little effect, as he was still a young man and almost unknown.

The Athenians made the alliance, but sent insufficient help; so that before the end of another year Philip had taken Olynthus and the thirty other cities of the league. He destroyed them all and enslaved the entire population.

186. Character of Philip; his Army and State. — Hellas was punished for the disunion of her states, but this does not justify Philip. The cruelty and violence of all the Greek tyrants combined scarcely equalled this one deed of the Macedonian king.

There could now be no doubt that he was dangerous. He ruled Macedon, Thessaly, Chalcidice, and the greater part of Thrace; he had his hirelings among the leading men of the Hellenic cities. He was a self-made man, an incessant toiler, who spared not his own person, but "in his struggle for power and empire had an eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, a hand and a leg mutilated, and was willing to sacrifice any part of his body which fortune might

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choose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory."[1] The body served a masterful intellect; few men have equalled him in quickness of thought and in soundness of judgment.

The greatest of his achievements was the creation of the *Macedonian army.* The rough Highland huntsmen and the peasants of the Plain, organized in local regiments, composed his phalanx. Learning a lesson from Iphicrates, he lightened their defensive armor and increased the length of their spears. Thus they could move more rapidly than the old-fashioned phalanx, and in conflict with any enemy their lances were first to draw blood. The nobles served in the cavalry as "companions" of the king; the light-armed troops composed his guard; the sons of nobles were royal pages, associating with the king and protecting his person. Gradually military pride, the glory of success, and most of all the magnetism of a great commander welded this mass of men into an organic whole. Meanwhile Philip, and after him Alexander, were wiping out distinctions of locality and of social rank, making every man's place depend upon his own merit and the favor of the general. Thus the military organization not only civilized the Macedonians by subjecting them to discipline, but it also destroyed their clannishness and made of them one nation with common interests, sentiments, and hopes. And Philip's country was not so exclusive as the Hellenic cities had always been; it readily admitted strangers to citizenship and in this way showed capacity for indefinite growth in population and in area. Macedon was already far larger than any other Greek state; its army was better organized; its troops were superior; and its king possessed a genius for war and for diplomacy.

187. The Peace of Philocrates and the Overthrow of Phocis (346 B.C.). — Three years after the fall of Chalcidice Athens made peace with Philip. The treaty included the allies of both parties

[1] Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 67.

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with the exception of the Phocians, whom Philip reserved for destruction. His excuse was that they had seized the treasures of Apollo at Delphi; he really wished to gain a foothold in central Greece and at the same time to pose as a champion of the prophet god.

A few days after signing the treaty he passed through Thermopylae, and as agent of the Amphictyonic Council he destroyed the twenty-two cities of Phocis and scattered the inhabitants in villages.



BATTLE-FIELD OF CHAERONEIA

The council decreed that the Phocians should repay by annual instalments the ten thousand talents they had taken from Apollo's treasury. Their seat in the council was given to Philip. This position, together with the presidency of the Pythian games, assured him great honor and influence throughout Hellas. He was now not only a Greek, but the greatest of the nation.

188. The Battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.). — In the years of peace which followed, Philip was busily winning friends among the Greeks; it was his aim to bring Hellas under his will by creating in each city

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a party devoted to himself. In all his movements, however, he was met by the eloquence and the diplomacy of Demosthenes. Gradually the orator brought together an Hellenic League to drive Philip out of Greece. The majority of states in Peloponnese and several in central Greece joined it.

As the time seemed ripe for a final attack upon Greek liberties, Philip caused his agents to kindle another sacred war in central Greece. He then marched again through Thermopylae and occupied El-a-tei'a, near the Boeotian frontier. As this movement threatened Boeotia, Thebes was induced to enter the Hellenic League. The allied forces met him at Chae-ro-nei'a in Boeotia. On each side were about thirty thousand men. Philip, who occupied the right wing, purposely retired before the Athenians, while on his left the Macedonian phalanx overcame that of Thebes. Meanwhile on the outer flank of the phalanx Alexander, the king's son, led the cavalry in an attack upon the Sacred Band. These young Thebans proved themselves heroes worthy of Epaminondas, for they fought to the death. The other troops — Athenians, Thebans, and allies — fled or were taken captive.

In this battle a monarch, commanding all the resources of his state, proved superior to a loose alliance of republics. The outcome impressed upon men the idea that monarchy was the strongest and best form of government. Hence it helped to determine that to the present day the civilized world should be ruled chiefly by kings and emperors.

The Progress of Culture[1]

189. Literature and Art. — In the period which we have now brought to a close (404–338 B.C.), poetry and historical writing declined. In history the age is represented by Xenophon, with

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit § 189.

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whom we have already become acquainted as the inspiring genius of the "Ten Thousand" on their homeward way to Greece after the battle of Cunaxa. His *Anabasis* is the story of this expedition. His *Memoirs of Socrates* gives us the character and teachings of that philosopher from the standpoint of a plain, practical man. The *Hel-len'i-ca*, a continuation of the history of Thucydides, covers the period from 410 B.C. to the battle of Mantineia. Though a shallow narrative, written from the Spartan point of view, it is our only continuous story of the period treated, and hence is very valuable. He wrote on a variety of other subjects, as hunting, housekeeping, the Athenian revenues, and the Lacedaemonian constitution. His works are a storehouse of knowledge of the times in which he lived.

The other great departments of prose — oratory and philosophy — reached the height of their development. *Oratory* flourished in all democratic states, which required the citizens to express their opinions on public affairs. There was at Athens no real lawyer class, because the laws were so simple that every one could understand them; but the oration which the private citizen committed to memory and delivered in the law court was usually composed for him by a professional speech-writer. The most eminent of this class in the early part of the fourth century B.C. was *Lysias*, an alien. Robbed of his fortune by the Thirty, he turned to speech-writing as a profession. Many of his orations have come down to us; they serve at once as models of the purest and simplest prose, and as a means of direct contact with the public and private life of the author's time.

Passing by a number of other eminent orators, we come to *Demosthenes*, of whom something has already been said. With the possible exception of Plato, he is the greatest master of Greek prose. In his orations, "we can no longer feel all the delicate touches of that exquisite skill which make them, to the ancients, such marvellous works of art. . . . But we can feel at least the orator's splendid mastery of every tone which the Greek language could yield, the intellectual greatness of the statesman, the moral greatness of the

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patriot who warned his people of the impending blow and comforted them when it had fallen."[1]

The greatest *philosopher* of the age — and one of the most eminent of the world — was Plato. After the death of his master he travelled to various parts of Greece and even to Egypt. His connection with the tyrants of Syracuse has already been mentioned.[2] On his return to Athens he began teaching in the Academy,[3] which gave



THEATRE AT EPIDAURUS

its name to his school. Plato is chiefly noted for his theory of *ideas*. According to his view, ideas are the sole realities; they are eternal and unchangeable, and exist only in heaven; the things which we see in this world are mere shadows of those heavenly forms.

One is inclined to call Plato a theologian primarily, as he has so

[1] Jebb, *Greek Literature*, p. 122 f. [2] § 160.

[3] The Academy, a public garden in the neighborhood of Athens, was founded by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and afterward adorned by Cimon. It was a pleasant place for recreation.

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much to say of God, heaven, and the future life. With his brilliant imagination, too, he was as much a poet as a philosopher.

While engaged in teaching Plato composed his *Dialogues*, which explain his views. The greatest *Dialogue* is the *Republic*, a discussion of the ideal state. Plato thought there should be three classes in the state: the philosophers, who should rule; the warriors, who should guard the state, as the Spartans in Lacedaemon; and the common people, who by their labor should support the higher classes. This would have been a caste system like that of India. Plato believed, too, that there should be no family or private property, because these institutions fostered selfishness. Though his ideal state was neither practicable nor on the whole good, one can hardly read the *Republic* without being lifted by it to a higher moral plane. The author insisted that justice should rule. The Hellenes, he taught, should live together as members of one family; they should not injure one another by devastating fields, burning houses, and enslaving captives. All his teachings were pure and ennobling: "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here and when, like conquerors in the games who go round to gather gifts, we receive our reward. And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years which we have been describing."

The chief improvement in *architecture* was the stone theatres, which replaced the wooden buildings of the preceding age. Every city now aimed to have a splendid stone theatre large enough to accommodate, if possible, the whole body of citizens. That at Athens is said to have seated thirty thousand spectators, though this estimate is probably an exaggeration. It is to be noted that the theatre served a religious purpose, for the exhibition of a drama was an act of worship, generally connected with some religious festival.

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The *sculpture* of the period is little inferior to that of the age of Pericles, — it shows somewhat less strength but equal beauty.



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES
(Olympia)

The age is represented by Prax-it'e-les, an Athenian, next to Pheidias the most famous sculptor of Greece. His Hermes was discovered in 1877 in the ruins of the temple of Hera at Olympia. Though delicately finished, the figure is strong and manly. It is the most excellent piece of statuary now known to the world.

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In our *review of the period* (404–338 B.C.) we notice that in the beginning eastern Greece was united under the rule of Sparta, and nearly all western Greece under Dionysius, while Sparta and Dionysius were in sympathy with each other. This was the nearest approach of Greece to political unity; but as neither Sparta nor Dionysius was equal to the task of ruling a free people, the two great political units soon crumbled. Then followed a time of strife and weakness, in the course of which Thebes attempted in vain to make herself leader of the Greek cities. Finally Macedon, taking advantage of the disunion and jealousies of the city-republics, conquered Greece.

In politics, therefore, and in military vigor it was an age of decline. But in two departments of literature, — oratory and philosophy, — and generally in the arts of peace the Greeks made vast improvements. Though less warlike, their reasoning powers were developing, and they were growing more refined and humane.

Topics for Reading

I. **Philip.** — Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 683–737; Holm, *History of Greece*, III. chs. xv–xix; Curteis, *Macedonian Empire*, pp. 23–85; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander*.

II. **Demosthenes.** — Plutarch, *Demosthenes;* Butcher, *Demosthenes;* see Indices in the various histories of Greece.

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CHAPTER XVII

ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE AND THE KINGDOMS FORMED FROM IT (338–220 B.C.)

190. Philip Ruler of Greece (338–336 B.C.). — With the battle of Chaeroneia the history of Greece merges in that of Macedon. According to the wishes of Philip, the Greek cities retained their constitutions but committed to him the power to declare war and make peace. They also acknowledged him their captain-general in war. A congress of Greek states meeting at Corinth deliberated on the common affairs of Greece. Sparta alone stood aloof and would have nothing to do with Macedon. The other states agreed to furnish troops for a war which Philip wished to undertake against Persia. Preparations for this enterprise went on actively till, in 336 B.C., the army was ready to move into Asia. But Philip was delayed by troubles in his own house. His wife, O-lym'pi-as, the mother of his son Alexander, was an Epeirot princess, a wild, fierce woman, who for religious worship indulged in mysteries closely akin to witchcraft. Sent home to her kinsmen and supplanted by a younger wife, she began in jealous rage to plot against her lord. Between Philip and Alexander an angry brawl arose; then came a reconciliation celebrated with splendid feasts and games. In the midst of the rejoicing Philip was assassinated.

191. Alexander the Great (336 B.C.). — Alexander, who succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twenty, found the great work of his father rapidly crumbling, — the Macedonians disaffected, barbarous tribes threatening invasion, and Greece rebellious.

He was at this time a ruddy-cheeked youth, with eyes and face full of animation and with the form of an Olympic runner. But he

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preferred hunting to athletics and showed his boldness and skill by taming the fiery horse Bu-ceph'a-lus. There was in him the same eagerness for knowledge as for exercise; and among his many tutors was Aristotle, the most learned of all the Greeks. Alexander was passionately fond of the *Iliad*, as he found in the hero Achilles his own ideal and image. The young king was an impetuous yet manly spirit, sincere in an age of deceit, incessantly active in the midst of a generation of drones.

On his accession the wise men of Macedon urged him to proceed cautiously in meeting the difficulties which beset him; but Alexander with a few masterful strokes reduced his subjects and his troublesome enemies to order. In stamping out the rebellion in Greece, he took Thebes by storm, destroyed the entire city excepting the temples and the home of Pindar,[1] and sold the inhabitants into slavery; but of this severity he afterward repented and tried to undo the mischief. The rest of Greece retained the rights which his father had granted, and was not even required to furnish troops for the war with Persia in which he was about to engage.

192. The Invasion of Asia; Battle on the Granicus (334 B.C.). — In the spring of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed the Hellespont with forty thousand troops, and began the invasion of the Persian empire, for which the best men of Greece had long been yearning.[2] He aspired to draw the hearts of his people to himself as the hero who would punish the Persians for desolating his country and burning its temples. The enemy first offered resistance on the Gra-ni'cus River near Troy; without hesitation Alexander crossed the stream under a storm of darts, and carried the enemy's position by a bold dash. Half of the force which opposed him there consisted of Greeks who were serving the Asiatic king for pay. Soon afterward he learned, too, that the warships of Hellas would coöperate with the enemy. This fact determined him to follow the coast from Ephesus to the mouths of the Nile and to seize all the harbors on the way, that

[1] § 96. [2] § 167.

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THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (?)

(From the "Sarcophagus of Alexander" at Constantinople.)

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hostile fleets might find no landing-place in his rear. On the march he had to storm fortresses, garrison towns, and keep open his communications with Macedon. As the Greek cities of Asia Minor fell one by one into his power, he gave them democratic governments, but denied them the privilege of banishing oligarchs. Hellas had never before seen a policy at once so vigorous and so humane.

While passing through Asia Minor, Alexander came to Gordium, the ancient capital of Phryg'i-a. The story is told that he was there shown the celebrated chariot the yoke of which was tied with a peculiar knot. An oracle had declared that whoever untied the knot should be lord of Asia. Alexander, despairing of finding the ends, drew his sword and cut the thong, thus making the prophecy favor himself. Hence the proverb "to cut the Gordian knot" means to solve an intricate problem by some bold, direct expedient.

193. The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.); Alexander and the Greeks. — At Is'sus in Cilicia he met Darius in command of a vast host, yet posted in a narrow valley where numbers did not count. One Macedonian faced perhaps twenty Asiatic troops, but this fact did not trouble Alexander. By a skilful attack he routed the unwieldy mass, and sent the royal coward into headlong flight. Alexander always exposed himself recklessly in battle, and on this occasion was wounded by a sword-thrust in the thigh. A great quantity of booty, and even the mother, wife, and children of the king, fell into his hands. These persons he treated kindly, but he refused to negotiate with Darius for peace: "For the future when you wish anything of me, send to me not as your equal, but as the lord of all Asia; and if you dispute my right to the kingdom, stay and fight another battle for it instead of running away."

Soon after this battle he took captive some ambassadors who had come up from Greece to form with Darius a common plan of resistance to the Macedonians. Instead of punishing the envoys for what he might have regarded as treason, he found excuses for them and let them go. For a time Alexander tried to win the Greeks by similar acts of kindness; afterward he alienated them by his own unreasonableness.

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194. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.); Founding of Alexandria. — From Issus Alexander proceeded to Tyre. The capture of this city by siege and storm was the most brilliant of all his military exploits. Though harassed by fire-ships on his flanks and by sorties from the harbors, he succeeded in building a mole from the mainland to the isle on which the city stood. During the siege he collected a fleet of Greek and Phoenician vessels, and on the completion of the mole he made the attack at once by land and sea. Many thousand Tyrians were slain in the storming of their city, and thousands of captives were sold into slavery. The great emporium of the East was left a heap of ruins. Darius could no longer look for help from the Phoenician navy, or from the Greeks. He now offered still more favorable terms of peace, — Alexander should have all the country west of the Euphrates, and should become the son-in-law and ally of the king. "Were I Alexander," said Par-me'ni-on, the ablest Macedonian general, "I should accept the offer." "And so should I, if I were Parmenion," Alexander replied, and sent word to Darius that he would not content himself with the half, since the whole was already his, and that if he chose to marry his adversary's daughter, he would do so without asking the father's consent. Darius then began fresh preparations for war, and Alexander marched on to Egypt, which yielded without resistance. Near one of the mouths of the Nile he founded Alexandria to take the place of Tyre, and with its trade-routes to bind fast his new dominions to the throne of his fathers. It grew to be the greatest commercial city of the eastern Mediterranean.

Before departing from Egypt Alexander paid a visit to the oracle of the god Ammon in an oasis of the Libyan desert, and received assurance from the deity who sat in this vast solitude that he, the conqueror of nations, was in reality a son of Zeus.

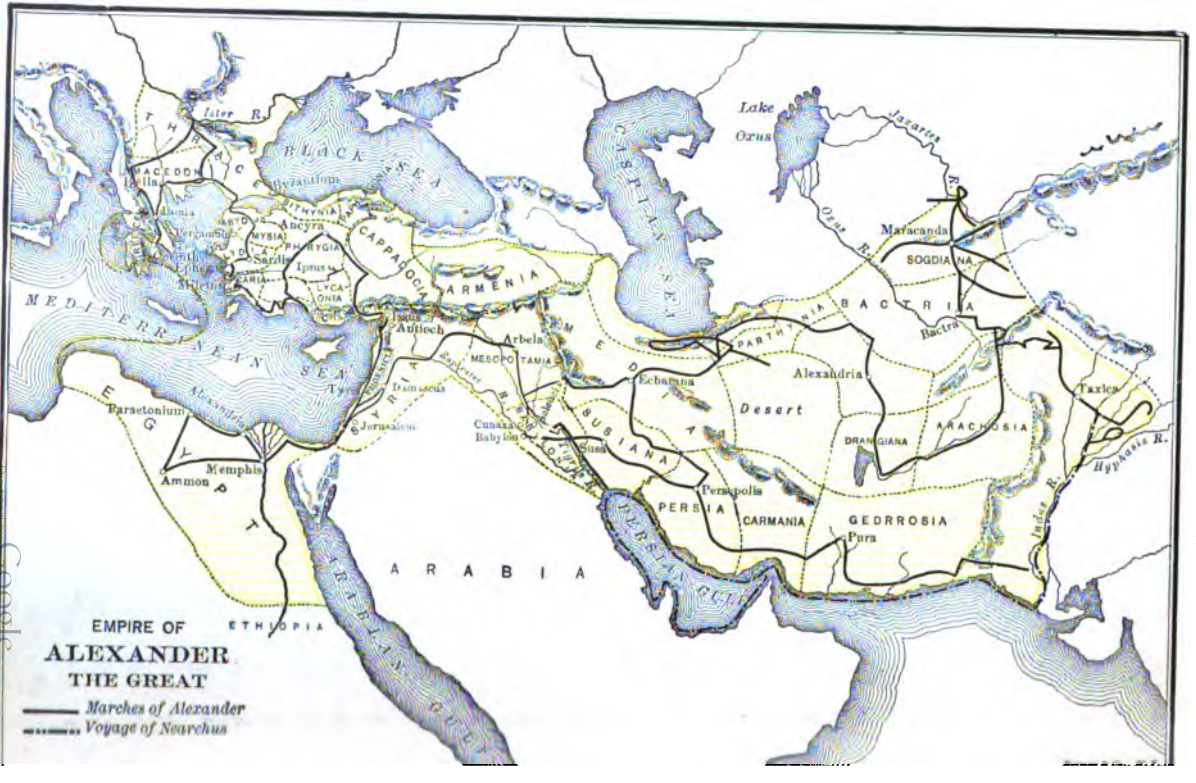
195. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — From the Nile country Alexander led his army into the heart of the Persian empire. Some sixty miles from Ar-be'la, north of Babylon, he again met the enemy.

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Oxus R.
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Hyphasis R.
Indus R.
Desert
ARACHOSIA
DRANGIANA
Ecbatana
MEDIA
Arbela
MESOPOTAMIA
Antioch
Damascus
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Cunaxa
Babylon
Susa
SUSIANA
Persepolis
PERSIA
CARMANIA
GEDRROSIA
Pura
ARMENIA
CAPPADOCIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYCAONIA
Ancyra
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Gordium
Issus
Paraetonium
Memphis
Ammon
EGYPT
ETHIOPIA
Alexandria
Tyre
Danube R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Thrace
Macedonia
Pella
Byzantium
BITHYNIA

On this occasion Darius had chosen a favorable position, a broad plain in which his force of a million men found ample room for movement. The two armies halted in view of each other. While Alexander's troops slept the night through, Darius, keeping his men under arms, reviewed them by torchlight. Parmenion, beholding all the plain aglow with the lights and fires of the Asiatics, and hearing the uncertain and confused sound of voices from their camp like the distant roar of the vast ocean, was amazed at the multitude of the foe, and hastening to the tent of Alexander, besought him to make a night attack that darkness might hide them from the enemy. "I will not steal a victory!" the young king replied. He knew Darius would lose all hope of resistance only when conquered by force of arms in a straightforward battle. It was a fierce struggle which took place on the following day; but the steady advance of the phalanx and the furious charge of the Macedonian cavalry under the lead of their king won the day over the unorganized, spiritless mass of Orientals. Many a Persian grandee's womanly face was marred on that day by the lance-points of Alexander's "companions." The long struggle between two continents which began with the earliest Persian attacks on Greece was decided in favor of Europe by the intelligent and robust manliness of the Westerners.



ALEXANDER IN BATTLE
(From the "Sarcophagus of Alexander" at Constantinople)

196. Other Conquests and Plans (331–323 B.C.). — Darius fled

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northward and was murdered by an attendant on the way. Alexander as his successor was master of the empire. Babylon surrendered without resistance. The liberal mind of the conqueror showed itself in his respect for the gods of this ancient seat of civilization. He had an especial reason for seeking the good-will of the inhabitants, for he wished to make their city the capital of his world empire. From Babylon he pushed on to Susa, the summer residence of the Persian kings. Here an immense treasure of silver and gold — estimated at fifty thousand talents — fell into his hands. Thence he fought his difficult way, against mountaineers and imperial troops, to Persepolis, the capital of Persia proper. In this city he found a much greater treasure of the precious metals — a hundred and twenty thousand talents. For ages the Persian kings had been hoarding this wealth, which the conqueror was now to put into circulation. One night while he and his friends were carousing there, the idea occurred to them to burn the beautiful palace of the kings in revenge for the destruction of the Athenian temples by Xerxes. The deed was hardly done before Alexander repented his folly.

A few campaigns were still needed to pacify the great country. The victorious marches which he next made into the remote northerly provinces of Bac'tri-a and Sog-di-a'na and to distant India are interesting both as brilliant military achievements and as explorations of regions hitherto unknown to the Greeks. His return from India through the Ge-dro'si-an desert was a marvellous feat of endurance. The men marched for sixty days, hungry and thirsty, through burning sands and under a lurid sky, to gratify the ambition of their leader. Three-fourths of the army perished on the way; but Alexander was now lord of Asia, and to such a despot human life is cheap. His admiral Ne-ar'chus, who at the same time was voyaging from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, opened a water-route to India. But for a long time there was little commerce with India and the far East.

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Immediately after his return to Babylon, Alexander began to settle the affairs of his empire, which reached from the western limits of Greece to the Hyph'a-sis River in India, and from the Jax-ar'tes River to Ethiopia, — the greatest extent of country yet united under one government. He busied himself, too, with recruiting and reorganizing the army and with building an immense fleet; for he was planning the conquest of Arabia, Africa, and western Europe.

197. His Death (323 B.C.) and Achievements. — When ready to set out on his expedition to the West, he suddenly fell sick of a fever caused probably by excessive drinking. As he grew rapidly worse, the soldiers forced their way in to see their beloved commander once more, and the whole army passed in single file by his bed. He was no longer able to speak, but his eyes and uplifted hand expressed his silent farewell.

He was in his thirty-third year when he died, but the *work which he accomplished* in his short career fills a larger space in the world's history perhaps than that of any other human being. His mission was to make Hellenic civilization the common property of mankind. This he accomplished chiefly by means of his colonies. In every part of his empire he planted cities, more than seventy in all, each with a Greek nucleus, beginning usually with the worn-out soldiers of his army. These settlements held the empire in allegiance to their king, bound the several parts of it together by the ties of commerce, and spread Greek culture among the natives. It was an enterprise for which the Greeks had long been waiting, and in which, therefore, they took an eager part.

Alexander improved greatly the administration of the empire. The satrap had been a despot after the pattern of the king whom he served, uniting in himself all military, financial, and judicial authority; but Alexander in organizing a province assigned each of these functions to a distinct officer, so that the work of government could be done better than before, and there was far less opportunity for the abuse of power. Though the empire was broken after his death, his

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colonization and administration continued till the fragments of the empire came into the possession of Rome.

Alexander's *mind had expanded* rapidly with the progress of his conquests. First king of Macedon, next captain-general of Hellas, then emperor of Persia, he aspired finally to be lord of the whole earth, to unite Europe, Asia, and Africa into a single nation. But the dizzy height of power to which he had climbed disturbed his mental poise; in an outburst of passion he murdered his dearest friend; his lust for worship grew upon him till he bade the manly Macedonians grovel before him like servile Asiatics, and sent an order to the Greeks to recognize him as a god. Although his errors were many, they were soon forgotten, while the good he did passed into history.

198. The Succession; the Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).—When Alexander died the authority passed to his generals, all trained in war yet none qualified to fill the place of the master. As his son was but an infant, and as the generals began to fight among themselves for the first place, the empire naturally fell to pieces.

On his death-bed Alexander had given his signet ring to Per-dic'cas, and had said in effect that this man was best fitted to succeed him. Perdiccas, accordingly, ruled for a time as guardian of the infant heir; but when the regent was killed by his own troops, An-tig'o-nus, another general, made himself master of Asia, and claimed the right to govern the whole empire. Four rivals, Ptol'e-my, Se-leu'cus, Ly-sim'a-chus, and Cas-san'der, combined against him. A large part of the civilized world engaged in the struggle. Lysimachus and Seleucus defeated their mighty foe at Ip'sus in Phrygia (301 B.C.). This was one of the most important battles of ancient times, as it determined the history of the empire till it fell under the power of Rome.

The victors divided the empire into kingdoms for themselves: Seleucus received Asia from Phrygia to India; western Asia Minor and Thrace fell to Lysimachus; Ptolemy became king of Egypt; and Cassander, already governor of Macedon, was now recognized as

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sovereign. In this way four kingdoms arose from the empire. Somewhat later Lysimachus was killed and his realm divided. While most of his Asiatic possessions were annexed to the kingdom of Seleucus, barbarous tribes, including many Gauls, seized the interior of Thrace and threatened the Greek cities along the coast.

The three remaining kingdoms have a longer history.

199. The Empire of the Seleucidae; Egypt. — Among the successors of Alexander the ablest administrator was Seleucus. Following the policy of his master, he planted as many as seventy-five colonies in his realm. Among them was Se-leu'ci-a on the Tigris, said to have contained six hundred thousand inhabitants and to have rivalled Babylon in splendor. As a capital for his kingdom he founded Antioch in Syria, not far from the sea. "The new towns were all built on a large and comfortable model; they were well paved; they had ample arrangements for lighting by night, and for a good water-supply; they had police arrangements, and good thoroughfares secured to them by land and water. These were in themselves privileges enough to tempt all the surrounding peasants, all the people who lived in old-fashioned incommodious villages, to settle in a fresh home."[1] This is what the Greeks under the patronage of Seleucus were doing for Asia. Colonists from every part of Greece brought their industry and enterprise to every part of the Seleucid empire; they furnished the intelligence and the skill by which the whole commercial business as well as the civil service of the empire was conducted. The new towns were Hellenic in language, in civilization, and in their free local institutions. Through them Seleucus and his descendants, the Se-leu'ci-dae, continued Alexander's work of Hellenizing the East, making the people in the great country over whom they ruled one in language, in culture, and in sympathy. As the promoters of civilization, the Seleucidae were the most worthy among the successors of Alexander.

Ptolemy and his successors, *the Ptolemies*, looked after the welfare

[1] Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, p. 307.

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of their subjects, the Egyptians, that their own revenues might be large and their power secure. Under them Alexandria became a wealthy commercial city and a famous seat of learning. Literature flourished, and science made great progress. In this city Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians, mingling in social life and in study, produced a broader civilization than the world had yet known.[1]

200. Macedon and Greece (323–322 B.C.). — When the Greeks heard that Alexander was dead, they revolted, and defended Thermopylae against An-tip'a-ter, who preceded Cassander as governor of Macedon. Demosthenes, who had been heavily fined on a charge of embezzling public funds, was in exile. As he travelled through Peloponnese in company with Athenian envoys, his eloquence awakened the communities to an Hellenic war of liberation. In recognition of his loyal spirit and his service in the cause of freedom, the Athenians recalled him and appropriated fifty talents with which to pay his fine.

Meanwhile the Greeks had pushed Antipater back into Thessaly and were besieging him in La'mi-a, — whence this struggle is known as the *Lamian War*.

Many states, chiefly the Aetolians, supported the Hellenic cause. For a time all were hopeful; but an attack on Lamia failed, and thereafter everything went wrong. Finally the states fell apart, and Antipater made separate treaties with them. Athens was compelled to receive a Macedonian garrison at Mu-nych'i-a, to exclude her poorer citizens from the franchise, and to deliver up the orators who had opposed Macedon. Among these offenders was Demosthenes. He fled at once from Athens, and soon afterward took poison, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his pursuers. Thus his mighty spirit ceased to contend against despotism. On the base of his statue his countrymen placed this epitaph: "Had your strength equalled your will, Demosthenes, the Macedonian War-God would never have conquered Greece."

[1] For the scholarship of Alexandria, see § 203.

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201. The Great Federal Unions (to 235 B.C.). — The Greeks began to feel that in order to preserve their liberties they must unite more closely. The first to put this idea into practice were the *Aetolians*, the least civilized of the Greeks, yet among the foremost in political capacity. The league of Aetolian tribes which had existed from early times enjoyed in the present period a remarkably good form of government. Many communities outside of Aetolia — in Peloponnese, in the Aegean, and about the Hellespont — willingly joined it. Though others were forced to become members, yet all had equal rights and enjoyed fair representation in the government. As the Aetolians had a good representative system and in addition a strong magistracy, their state was a great improvement on the city-state, such as Athens or Sparta; it was a federal union somewhat like that of the United States. Had the Aetolians been more civilized, they would have proved a blessing to Greece; but their appetite for plunder too often led them to side with the enemies of their race.

Some *Achaean* cities, too, renewed an ancient league in imitation of Aetolia. From this small beginning a great federal union was afterward built up, chiefly by A-ra'tus, a noble of Sicyon. The father of Aratus had been killed by the tyrant of his city, and the lad who was one day to be the maker of a great state grew up an exile in Argos. While still a young man he expelled the tyrant from his native city and brought it into the Achaean League. "He was a true statesman, high-minded, and more intent upon the public than his private concerns; a bitter hater of tyrants, making the common good the rule and law of his friendships and enmities." He advanced so rapidly in the esteem of the Achaeans that they elected him general when he was but twenty-seven years of age. Their confidence was by no means misplaced. Under his lifelong guidance the league extended itself till it came to include all Peloponnese with the exception of Lacedaemon. Nothing was so dear to him as the union he was fostering, "for he believed that the cities, weak indi-

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vidually, could be preserved by nothing else but a mutual assistance under the closest bond of the common interest."[1] His jealousy of other leaders — his desire to remain sole general — seems pardonable when we think of this great state as the work of his hands.

202. Cleomenes and Aratus (235–220 B.C.). — The further growth of the league was hindered on one side by Athens, too proud to act with other states, and on the other by Lacedaemon, now under an able king, Cleomenes. Wishing to restore decayed Sparta to her ancient condition, Cleomenes abolished the ephorate, cancelled debts, and redistributed property with a view to increasing the number of citizens and soldiers. Sincere in his desire to benefit his city, he was perhaps the ablest statesman and the greatest hero of Greece after Alexander. Cleomenes applied for permission to bring his state into the league and asked to be made general. The admission of Sparta on these terms would have made the union more lasting, especially as it would have provided an able, noble-hearted man to succeed Aratus. But the Achaean statesman refused. Such heroic self-sacrifice could hardly be expected of human nature; and Aratus, though he lived for the glory of the union, was selfish. Cleomenes, who had already opened war upon the league, now assailed it so vigorously that Aratus was induced to call upon Macedon for help. A Macedonian army entered Peloponnese and thoroughly defeated Cleomenes. When the Spartan king saw all his hopes shattered, he bade farewell to his ruined country and sailed away to Egypt, where he met a violent death. Greece was now in a wretched plight: Sparta had lost her independence, and the Achaean League had for the time being enslaved itself to Macedon. Aratus, the mainstay of the union, was poisoned at the instigation of Philip V,[2] who had become king of Macedon in 220 B.C.

Soon afterward the Romans began to interfere in Greek affairs. The story of their conquest of Greece will be told in connection with the history of Rome.

[1] Plutarch, *Aratus*, 24.

[2] §§ 263, 266.

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The Decline of Culture; The Hellenistic Age[1]

203. Literature (after 338 B.C.). — In this period art and literature declined. The death of Demosthenes occurred in the year after that of Alexander. Another great name connected with the early part of this period is that of Ar'is-tot-le. He studied twenty years at Athens under Plato, and became a teacher of Alexander the Great. His achievement was to classify knowledge into departments of science, as ethics, physics, politics, etc. His writings are an encyclopaedia of all the sciences. Although he made some use of observation and experiment, he relied mainly on his reason for finding new truth. His works controlled the thought of scholars till four hundred years ago, when Bacon began a new era in science by laying greater stress on experiments as a means of discovering knowledge. The student of history will be interested in Aristotle's *Politics*, a treatise on the State, and in his *Constitution of Athens*. The latter work, discovered in Egypt a few years ago, is one of a large number of constitutional histories of Greek cities prepared by himself and his pupils. Of all these histories that of the Athenian constitution is the only one we have. The death of Alexander (323 B.C.) dates the beginning of the *Hel-len-is'tic Age*. The term Hellenistic — as distinguished from Hellenic — applies to the language and civilization of those Eastern people who adopted the culture and speech of the Greeks.

The most famous seat of this civilization was Alexandria under the Ptolemies. The chief institution of learning there was the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy and greatly enlarged by his son, Ptolemy Phil-a-del'phus. It was a collection of buildings on a piece of ground sacred to the Muses, — hence the name. The institution was thoroughly equipped with observatories, zoölogical gardens, and herbaria. The library, containing more than five hundred thousand

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit § 203.

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manuscripts, was the largest in ancient times. Learned men were attracted to the Museum by the great facilities for investigation and by the liberality of the government in providing them with a living during their residence there. Among the buildings were dwellings for the scholars and a dining hall in which all ate together at public expense.



APOLLO BELVEDERE

(Vatican Museum. This statue belongs to the Hellenistic Age)

The scholars of the Museum occupied themselves with editing and explaining Homer and other ancient poets, with mathematical and astronomical investigations, with computing the size of the earth and arranging the events of the world's history in chronological order. The Jews, who had their quarter in Alexandria, enjoyed equal opportunities with the Greeks for trade and for culture. Under the patronage of the Ptolemies, learned Jews translated their Bible — the Old Testament — into Greek. This version is called the Sep'tu-a-gint because of the number of men said to have been engaged in the work. The fact that such a translation was necessary proves that even the Jews, with all their love for the institutions of their fathers, had exchanged their own language for that of Hellas.

The most eminent poet of this cultured circle was The-oc'ri-tus, a composer of pastoral idyls. His delightful pictures of country life

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pleased the prosaic scholars of Alexandria, and have charmed the world to the present day. The age is less celebrated for poetry, however, than for learning.

Greek literature as a whole is the best that the world has produced. Not only were the people an energetic, manly race, but they had taste and good sense, and well understood the fitness of things. Above all, they loved beauty. Hence their language is clear, forcible, and graceful; it expresses precisely the most delicate shades of meaning. Furthermore the literature is original in all its departments. In ancient times Greek was the universal language of learning and commerce; it was spoken and understood not only throughout Alexander's great empire, but over the entire Mediterranean world. We moderns learn the Greek language and literature in order to sharpen our intelligence, refine our taste, and make ourselves acquainted with some of the greatest poets, historians, orators, and philosophers of all time.

Topics for Reading

I. Alexander. — Plutarch, *Alexander;* Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 738–836; Curteis, *Macedonian Empire*, pp. 85–215; Holm, *History of Greece*, iii. chs. xx–xxvii; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander;* Wheeler, *Alexander.*

II. The Federal Unions. — (1) Aetolian League: Polybius (translated by Shuckburgh; see Index); Holm, *History of Greece*, iv. pp. 257–265; Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, pp. 231–235. (2) Achaean League: Polybius (translated by Shuckburgh; see Index); Plutarch, *Aratus; Philopoemen; Cleomenes;* Holm iv. pp. 219–231, 260–265; Greenidge, pp. 235–243.

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CHAPTER XVIII

PRIVATE AND SOCIAL LIFE

204. Childhood and Education. — In our study of the Spartans we have already noticed their more important social customs.[1] The other states differed from Sparta and from one another. In this chapter we shall restrict ourselves to the home life and the society of Athens.

Soon after the birth of a child, usually the tenth day following, the parents gave a festival to their friends and kinsmen. On this occa-



A SCHOOL
(From a Vase-painting)

sion the child received its name, the eldest son generally being called after the paternal grandfather. For the first six years boys and girls alike grew up under the care of the mother and nurses. With their many toys and games they certainly enjoyed life as much as children now do.

At the beginning of his seventh year the boy was entrusted to the

[1] § 88 f.

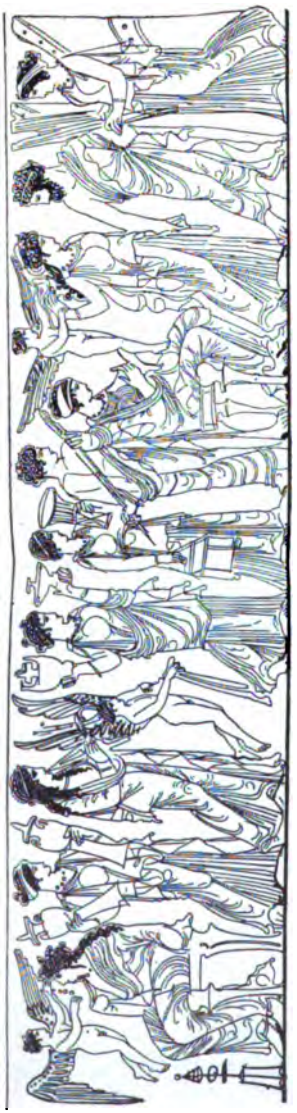
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care of a slave termed pedagogue, — usually an old man, who watched over his behavior and accompanied him to and from *school*. In the elementary schools the boys learned reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and music. The reading was in Homer, Theognis, and other old poets. All these branches were included under the name music. Boys from the same quarter of the town marched together to school in good order and lightly clad, even if it snowed thicker than meal. They attended till they were sixteen. Meanwhile they were exercising in the palestra — wrestling school. During this period their physical training was probably light; but from their sixteenth year they engaged in more vigorous exercises. Enrolled as citizens at the age of eighteen, they passed the next two years in military as well as gymnastic training. Youths and men attended a gymnasium, whereas the palestra was exclusively for boys. Both kinds of training schools aimed not only to make boys and youths physically sound, but also to give them modesty and dignity.

The sons of poor parents had to satisfy themselves with an elementary education. Those, on the other hand, who had means and a taste for learning pursued more *advanced studies* under a rhetorician or sophist, who gave oral instruction, for which he charged a high fee. Beginning with the age of Pericles, no Athenian could hope to succeed in public life without special training in rhetoric — the theory and practice of oratory. This advanced course ranged in length from a few days or weeks to perhaps three or four years. Some from pure love of learning studied under all the great masters; and those who wished to become teachers or philosophers devoted a large part of their lives to the work of preparation.

205. Women and Marriage. — Athenian girls were kept closely at home, and received instruction from their mothers and nurses. Although proficient in domestic affairs, they had little musical and intellectual education. Foreign women in Athens were far freer; many were mentally and socially accomplished, and hence were more attractive than the daughters of the citizens.

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A MARRIAGE PROCESSION
(From a Vase-painting)

Between twenty and thirty a man usually married. There was no opportunity for courtship; in fact the young people rarely knew each other before the wedding, but the youth's father chose the bride, and with her father or guardian settled the contract. Marriage was largely a business affair: every father gave his daughter a dowry proportioned to his wealth; and as parents were anxious to keep the hereditary property within the family, they preferred to marry their children to near relatives. This intermarriage of near kinsfolk was perhaps the chief cause of the physical decline of the Athenians.

Before the wedding both bride and groom bathed in water brought from the sacred spring. In the morning a sacrifice was offered to the marriage gods, and later in the day the relatives, men and women, feasted at the house of the bride's father. In the evening a procession escorted her to her new home. She rode in a carriage by her husband's side, while the rest accompanied on foot, some playing the harp and flute, others singing the bridal song. Various ceremonies attended her entrance into the house.

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The *wife* was not often seen in public. She was present at the funerals of her kin and took part in religious festivals. Accompanied by a slave, she walked or rode along the streets to the houses of her friends. But in her own home the wife was mistress, and she who had the necessary mental gifts controlled the opinions and even the politics of her husband. Restrictions upon her freedom applied to the wealthy only, and especially to the city people. Among the poor and in the country, women enjoyed a large degree of liberty.

206. The Banquet. — After marriage, as before, men spent most of their time away from home, — in the gymnasia and the schools of



A BANQUET
(From a Vase-painting)

philosophy, in the courts or magistracies, in business and society. Often for the celebration of a happy event a man invited his male friends to an evening dinner, ending in a symposium, or drinking-bout. On such an occasion the host entertained his guests with many dainty dishes; but the Athenians were naturally frugal, and their feasts were far less expensive than those of the Romans.

The guests reclined in pairs on couches. After they had washed their hands in bowls passed round for the purpose, slaves set before them low three-legged tables, on which they then placed the food. The guests used spoons, but no fork and rarely a knife. As they therefore soiled their hands, it was necessary to wash again after eat-

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ing. For the symposium they wreathed their heads in garlands, and chose a ruler who decided how much wine should be drunk and what the subjects of conversation should be. They weakened their wine with water, so that intoxication was rare. While they were drinking, jugglers, dancers, and musicians of both sexes entertained them. The guests themselves sang or told riddles or conversed, as the ruler directed.



AN ATHENIAN GRAVESTONE

207. Slavery. — Nearly all labor, skilled and unskilled, was in the hands of slaves. This class consisted chiefly of foreigners whom the Greeks captured in war or purchased. Few were born in Attica. It sometimes happened that a single Athenian owned as many as a thousand slaves, but the total number in Attica probably never exceeded a hundred thousand. Many worked in the mines; many were skilled manufacturers; some served the state as police; and a few even managed the business of their masters.

The slave at Athens was kindly treated. He dressed like a free laborer; he talked boldly, and rarely stepped aside in the street to let a citizen pass. His master dared not kill him, and in case of severe mistreatment he could take refuge at the shrine of Theseus, and require his brutal owner to sell him to another.

Slavery afforded the Athenians leisure for politics, literature, and

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art. Hence it was a necessary factor in the development of their civilization. But in spite of all advantages the institution is a monstrous evil. By degrading labor it impoverishes the common freemen, and it corrupts the morals not only of the slave but also of the master.

Topics for Reading

I. Education. — Blümner, *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, ch. iii; Becker, *Charicles* (N.Y. 1895), pp. 217–240; Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, § 50; see also Indices of the various histories of Greece.

II. Slavery. — Blümner, ch. xv; Becker pp. 356–373; see Indices of the various histories of Greece.



ARTEMIS
(Museum of the Louvre; Hellenistic Age)

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TEMPLE OF VESTA AND OF THE SIBYL
(Tibur)

PART III

ROME

CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THE COUNTRY

208. The Migration into Italy. — Like the Greeks, the Italians spoke an Aryan language.[1] From the primitive home of this speech the Aryan tribes, or races, moved farther and farther apart, some eastward to Persia and India, others to various regions of Europe. In the countries to which they came many natives mingled with them, and adopted their language, customs, and ideas.

The particular people whose story we are to follow journeyed to the peninsula now known as Italy. Apparently they came by land from

[1] § 2.

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across the Alps. Then moving gradually through the peninsula, the swarms of warriors, with their women and children and their herds, drove before them or subdued the earlier inhabitants, and fought among themselves for the best lands, while alien tribes pressed after them and continually pushed them on. In this way they came to occupy most of central Italy.

209. The Sabellians. — In the interior of their narrow country they found rugged, snow-capped mountains, deep gorges, and raging torrents. Dark forests covered the steep slopes and even the table-lands. The principal Italian settlers in this wild, grand region were the Sa-bel'li-ans. They cleared a few spots of ground, which they began to cultivate with rude tools; they roamed the woods for game or watched their flocks in the valleys. They were a patient, hardy race; and their constant struggle with the forces of nature, with savage beasts and bold enemies, made them grave, stern, and intensely religious.

The Sabellians did not form one state in the modern sense, but each mountain valley or plateau was the abode of a tribe with its own independent government. All the common warriors of the tribe gathered in an assembly to elect their chief, and under his presidency, to vote on important questions, as of war and peace. A few of the old men, who in youth had been most valiant, or to whom age had brought most wisdom, met in a senate, or council of elders, to advise and assist the chief in his duties, and especially to point out to him the will of the gods and the means of securing their favor. These were the earliest political institutions of the Sabellians, and in fact of all the Italians, — the crude elements from which the Roman constitution was to grow.

The parent stock of this race is said to have been the *Sabines*, in the mountains near the centre of the peninsula. Once they sent forth a host of youths, who occupied the vast mountainous region known as *Sam'ni-um*, a country famous in Italian history. In like manner the Mar'si-ans — sons of Mars — setting out from Sa-bi'na, settled nearer

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the mother country. Other emigrants from the same home are said to have followed a woodpecker (*picus*) to the northeast, where they occupied the country between the mountains and the sea and called themselves Pi-cen'ti-ans after their guide. The Sabellians, like the Sabines, sent out many colonies, which in time covered the high ranges and the eastern slopes of central Italy.

210. The Umbrians and the Latins. — From the Um'bri-ans, their kinsmen on the north, they had nothing to fear. For these people were somewhat more civilized and consequently more attached to their homes than were their southern neighbors. As the Umbrians were weak, too, from lack of union among themselves, they gradually yielded ground to the vigorous, intelligent E-trus'cans, who pressed upon their northern and western borders. It was rather in *La'ti-um*, a small country on the western coast, that the Sabellians were to find their mortal foes. This was a flat district about the lower Tiber, extending thence some distance to the southeast, between the mountains and the sea. Here dwelt the Latins, an Italian tribe related to the Umbrians and the Sabellians. On account of their fertile fields near the coast, they grew more wealthy and more refined than their kinsmen in the interior. As far back as our record goes, the mountaineers were fighting the men of the plain. In time their petty wars were to culminate in a long, fierce struggle between the Latins and the Samnites for the control of Italy.[1]

211. The City-state; the Cities of Latium. — Originally all the Italians had the same customs and followed the same modes of life. In the earliest times they built no cities, but grouped their huts in small villages. As there was constant danger from invading enemies, neighboring villages joined in fortifying some convenient hilltop with a wall of earth or of rough stones. To this acropolis[2] the villagers fled on the approach of an enemy. Here, too, they met to hold religious festivals and to talk with one another on matters of common interest. As they came in time to have a

[1] § 234 ff. [2] § 48, n. 2.

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chief, a senate, and an assembly of their own, they began to pay less heed to the tribe of which they formed a part. Finally when, under favorable conditions, the leading men of the villages had acquired



considerable property and had learned the advantages of good houses and of settled homes, they took up their abode within the wall on the hilltop. The city which thus grew up within the tribe enjoyed complete independence. It was a city-state like those of Greece.[1]

[1] § 65.

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While the Sabellians and most of the Umbrians continued to live in villages, *cities were growing up in Latium*, generally on the spurs of the mountains which bordered the plain. Prominent among them was Alba Longa, on a long ridge, high above the sea-level. On one side of the city towered the Alban Mount; on the other was a lake in the crater of an extinct volcano. Mountain and lake helped defend the city against enemies; the slopes and plains below were beautiful to the eye and rich in the produce of all sorts of fruit. In this city thirty Latin communities, joining in a league, held an annual festival, in which they sacrificed an ox to Ju'pi-ter, their chief deity. In brief, Alba Longa was head of the league.

Setting out from Alba to the northeast, we soon come to Prae-nes'te, one of the strongest places in Latium; "for its citadel was a lofty mountain which overhung the town, and there were secret passages beneath the earth connecting the city with the plain."[1] From Praeneste we may follow the mountain range northwestward to Tibur, another well-fortified city in a remarkably beautiful situation. Near by, the Anio falls from a great height into a deep, wooded ravine.

212. Rome.—Without noticing the other cities of the hills, let us descend into the plain along the An'i-o to the Tiber. Here and there the flat country is dotted with hillocks or streaked with ridges. It appears that ages ago volcanoes, then active in the ranges above, scattered all these heaps over the plain. On the left bank of the Tiber, about fourteen miles from its mouth, we come down upon a group of hills[2] which the volcanoes had helped form with showers of ashes, sand, and stone. As the people on both banks of the lower Tiber needed a place of refuge, they selected one of these hills—the Pal'a-tine—and fortified the top with a wall of volcanic stone quarried on the spot. In time the enclosure became a city-state

[1] *Strabo*, v. 3, 11.

[2] The names and location of these hills, some of which are called mountains, may be found on the map of Rome, p. 278.

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THE FALL OF THE ANIO
(Tibur.)

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and was named Rome. The district which belonged to this Palatine city lay on both sides of the Tiber between its mouth and the Anio, and included about a hundred square miles. It was as low and flat as any part of Latium. To understand the history of Rome, we must first try to discover what she learned of her neighbors, the Etruscans and the Greeks.



AN ETRUSCAN WAR-GOD

213. The Etruscans.— North of Latium, between the Tiber and the sea, was E-tru'-ri-a, a country rich in natural resources — quarries of white and green marble, forests of tall straight trees for building, lakes which watered the fertile lands and teemed with fish.

In addition to this country, so favored by nature, the Etruscans possessed a still more fertile territory in the Po Valley, which lies north of Etruria. Warlike and aggressive, they overran Cam-pa'ni-a, the coast country southeast of Latium, and with their warships controlled the sea which washes the west coast of Italy,— named after them, Tyr-rhe'ni-an.[1] For a time they were the most powerful and the most ambitious race in the peninsula.

[1] Tyrrhenian and Etruscan are equivalent in meaning; the former is from the Greek, the latter from the Latin.

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Who they were or whence they came we do not know; and though they left abundant inscriptions, no one of the moderns has yet learned to read their language. When we first hear of them they were far in advance of the Italians in all that relates to the security, the comfort, and the refinement of life. They made vases and sculptures; they paved roads, dug canals for drainage and irrigation, and on steep and lofty hills they built massive walls, strong towers, and arched gateways.



AN ETRUSCAN TOMB
(Near Perugia, Italy)

From the labor of the poor the lords lived in pomp and luxury, and built splendid palaces and tombs. They based their power on religion, whose mysterious laws none knew but the seers.

"There be thirty chosen prophets,
The wisest of the land,
Who always with Lars Por'se-na[1]
Both morn and evening stand:

Evening and morn the Thirty
Have turned the verses o'er,
Traced from the right on linen white
By mighty seers of yore."[2]

[1] Lars Porsena was an Etruscan king; § 229.
[2] Macaulay, "Horatius," in *Lays of Ancient Rome.*

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Though the beginnings and the general character of this civilization were native, the Etruscans admired and imitated the products of Greek skill; and in turn they taught the Romans to interpret omens and to build sewers, walls, dwellings, and temples.

214. The Greeks. — It was destined, however, that as teachers of the Italians the Etruscans should in the end be outrivalled by the more virile Greeks, who about the middle of the eighth century B.C.



A DORIC TEMPLE
(Metapontum, Southern Italy)

began to settle the shores of southern Italy and of Sicily. Beneath a sunny sky they found fields of verdure sprinkled with gayly colored flowers — a delightful contrast to the stony soil and naked hills of the mother country. Their thriving colonies soon lined the Italian coast from Dorian Tarentum on the southeast to Chal-cid'ic Cu'mae on the west.[1] With them came the gods of Greece, who demanded of their worshippers athletic contests, graceful processions, the song and the

[1] § 59.

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dance, beautiful statues and temples. In the arts of peace and war the Greeks were teachers of the natives, and found in the Latins their aptest pupils. From the people of Cumae the Romans learned the alphabet and adopted the worship of Apollo.

The Italians, the Etruscans, and the Greeks were the chief peoples of Italy. Next in importance were the Gauls, who toward the end of the sixth century B.C. began to cross the Alps and to settle in the valley of the Po. Other races of still less importance need not concern us here.[1] From the mingling of these various peoples time was to bring forth a strong, energetic nation.

215. Effects of Geographical Conditions. — One reason for the political union of so many diverse peoples was that the character and situation of the country exposed it to attack on all sides. Largely a peninsula, Italy is extremely long in proportion to its breadth; and near it in every direction are foreign lands, from which enemies can easily come. Feeling the weakness of her position, Italy overcame it by union under Rome, her strongest city. The same geographical conditions explain another fact: even when united, the country was unsafe while the neighboring nations remained free to assail it; and thus it was that motives of self-preservation forced Rome, as the head of the peninsula, into her career of foreign conquest.

Looking at a map of the country, we see that mountain ranges,

[1] There were the I-a-pyg'i-ans in the heel of the peninsula, the Ve-ne'ti-ans, their kinsmen, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and the Li-gu'ri-ans in the west of Italy opposite Venetia.

The races of the peninsula may be conveniently grouped as follows: —

I. Of Non-Aryan Speech { Ligurians / Etruscans?

II. Of Aryan Speech { Italians { Latins / Umbrians / Sabellians; Greeks; Gauls; Venetians and Iapygians — both related to the Illyrians

Although the Volscians, Aequians, and Hernicans were Italians, it is not known to which group they were most closely related.

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the Ap'en-nines, extending through the whole length of the peninsula, lie for the most part near the eastern shore. This makes the eastern slopes abrupt, the rivers short, the coast rarely broken by harbors. On the west the slopes are more gentle, terminating in broad, fertile plains traversed by navigable rivers and well supplied with bays. In brief, the country is closed to the East and open to the West. Turning her back upon the East with its luxury, its vice, and its decaying life, Italy faced the fresh vital nations of the West, and found her chief interest in giving them her institutions. It was from contact with the civilizing influence of Rome that the vigorous races of central and western Europe developed into modern nations. There is reason, then, for looking upon the Romans as the last of the ancients and the first of the moderns.

216. The Best Country in the Ancient World. — In addition to these far-reaching political effects, the Apennines have always promoted the well-being and happiness of Italian life; for in every section of the peninsula the people enjoy the products, the climate, and the scenery of the mountains as well as of the plains on the seaside.

"In my opinion," says an ancient Greek writer on Roman history, "Italy surpasses even such fruitful countries as Egypt and Babylonia; for I look upon that country as the best which stands least in need of foreign commodities. Now I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility beyond all other countries of the world. For it contains a great deal of good arable land, without wanting pastures and forests, and abounds, I may say, in delights and advantages. Unparalleled are the plains of Campania, which yield three crops a year, bringing to perfection the winter, summer, and autumnal grain; peerless are the olive grounds of the Mes-sa'pi-ans and the Sabines; peerless the vineyards of Etruria and Alba, where the soil is wonderfully kind to vines. Then there are pastures for sheep, goats, horses, and neat cattle; there are the marsh grasses, wet with dew, and the meadow grasses of the hills, all growing in untilled places. I cannot

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help admiring the forests full of all kinds of trees, which supply timber for ships and houses. All these materials are ready at hand, for the coast is near, and there are many rivers which water the land and make easy the exchange of everything the country produces. Hot water springs, also, have been discovered in many places, affording pleasant baths and cures for chronic sickness. There are mines of various sorts, plenty of beasts for hunting, and a variety of sea-fish, besides other things innumerable, some useful and others worthy of admiration. But the most advantageous of all is the happy temper of the air, suiting itself to every season. So that neither the formation of fruits nor the constitution of animals is in the least injured by excessive cold or heat. No wonder, then, that the ancients, seeing this country abounding with universal plenty, dedicated the mountains and woods to Pan; the meadows and green lawns to the nymphs; the shores and islands to the sea-gods; and every delightful place to its appropriate deity!"[1]

Topics for Reading

I. The Influence of Geography on the History of Italy. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 13–16; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, ch. ii; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, ch. i; Liddell, *Student's Rome*, ch. i.

II. The Etruscans. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 8–10; *Story of Rome*, ch. i; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. I. ch. ix.

III. The Greeks in Italy. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 11–13; Holm, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 282–291; Abbott, *History of Greece*, i. pp. 342–348.

[1] Dionysius i. 36–38 (abridged).

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CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME — THE PREHISTORIC AGE (TO 509 B.C.)

217. The Myth of Aeneas and of Romulus and Remus. — When the Greeks had taken Troy by means of the wooden horse[1] and were slaying the inhabitants, Ae-ne'as, son of An-chi'ses and of Venus, goddess of love, escaped by sea together with many followers. And though the angry Juno[2] threatened him with storms and beset his path with trials and dangers, his goddess mother guided him safely through every peril and brought him after many wanderings to a haven on the west coast of fair Italy. There he landed and began to build a city. He allied himself with La-ti'nus, king of the country, married La-vin'i-a, the king's daughter, and named the new city La-vin'i-um, after his bride.

Trojans and natives lived together in peace, all taking the name of Latins after their king, who died somewhat later and was succeeded by Aeneas. The next king was As-ca'ni-us, son of Aeneas, who founded Alba Longa. Many generations afterward A-mu'li-us wickedly expelled his brother Nu'mi-tor from the kingship and himself usurped the throne. He had Numitor's son assassinated and compelled Rhe'a, the daughter, to become a Vestal virgin[3] that she might not marry and bring forth an avenger of the family's wrongs. However, she bore to Mars, god of war, twin sons of more than human size and beauty. She named them *Rom'u-lus* and *Re'mus*. Set adrift on the Tiber by order of the king, they were cast ashore near Mount Palatine, and would have perished had not a she-wolf nursed them till they were taken up and cared for by a shepherd of that region.

[1] § 50. [2] § 225. [3] § 225.

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When they had grown to manhood, they killed Amulius, and restored Numitor, their grandfather, to the throne.

218. Myth of the Founding of Rome (753 B.C.?); Myth of the Sabine Women. — With the king's consent the twin brothers led a colony to the place where they had passed their youth; but they quarrelled as to who should be the founder. When they scanned the sky for an omen of the divine will, six vultures, birds of Jupiter, appeared to Remus, but twelve were seen by Romulus, who thereupon founded the city on Mount Palatine. This he did by tracing a quadrangular space about the hill with a plough drawn by a yoke of cattle. Remus, however, in derision, leaped the half-finished wall, exclaiming, "Methinks any of your enemies might leap this as easily as I do." Then Romulus, or one of his men, replying, "But any of us might easily chastise that enemy," struck and killed him with a pickaxe.



A VESTAL VIRGIN
(National Museum, Naples)

When Romulus had founded Rome, he became the first king of the city, and gave his people laws and a constitution. In the original settlement few women had taken part; the men therefore were *anxious to secure wives* from the surrounding communities. Romulus accordingly exhibited games, to which many neighbors, including the Sabines, came by invitation. Now while they were watching the games, at a given signal the Romans rushed upon the Sabines, and seizing their daughters carried them off as wives, each bringing one

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to his own home. To avenge this wrong, Ti'tus Ta'ti-us, king of the Sabines, marched with his army against Rome, and joined battle with Romulus in the valley below the Palatine afterward occupied by the Forum, or market-place. During a pause in the fray the captive daughters of the Sabines, rushing between their fathers and their husbands, entreated them to cease from war and be forever friends. Their prayers prevailed; and though the Sabines dwelt henceforth on the Qui-ri'nal Hill, north of the Palatine, they came under one government with the Romans, and were ruled conjointly by Romulus and Tatius. This dual reign lasted till the death of the Sabine restored the whole power to the original Roman king.

219. Myth of Numa, of Tullus Hostilius, and of Ancus Martius. — After Romulus had ended his reign, and had ascended alive to heaven, Nu'ma became king. He was the opposite of Romulus, — a man of peace, learned in human and divine law, who made it the aim of his rule to soften the iron temper of the Romans. Refraining from war throughout his reign, he occupied his time in giving religious laws and institutions to his people. His warlike neighbors so revered him that they could not think of disturbing Rome while he was king.

At his death peace came to an end. Tul'lus Hos-til'i-us, the third king, conquered and destroyed Alba Longa, annexed her territory, and removed the people to Rome, where he settled them on the Cae'li-an Hill. Following the example of Romulus, he admitted the Alban commons to citizenship and enrolled the leading men among the nobles. An'cus Mar'ti-us, the fourth king, still further enlarged the Roman domain, founded Os'ti-a, at the mouth of the Tiber, to be a seaport to his city, and fortified Mount Ja-nic'u-lum, across the Tiber, as an outpost against the Etruscans.

220. Myth of the Tarquins and of Servius Tullius. — While Ancus Martius was king, a certain resident of Tar-quin'i-i, in Etruria, journeyed to Rome. When he reached the Janiculum, "an eagle, sweeping down to him as he sat in his chariot, took off his cap, and with loud screams,

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as if she had been sent from heaven for the very purpose, replaced it carefully on his head."[1] Thereupon his wife, who was skilled in omens, bade her husband hope for a high and noble fortune. They proceeded to the city, where the stranger, taking the name of Lu'ci-us Tar-quin'i-us Pris'cus ("the Elder") by his courteous manners won the favor of all. The people, therefore, elected him king after Ancus. He gained famous victories over the Sabines and the Latins, and made a beginning of the great public works which his successors carried to completion.

Of the king who came after him the following story is told: —

A strange thing once happened in the house of Tarquin the Elder. Several of his household, as they watched *Ser'vi-us Tul'li-us*, a slave boy, sleeping, saw his head blaze with fire. Whereupon a servant brought water to put out the flame. But the queen, preventing him, remarked to her husband, "Do you see this boy whom we are rearing in so mean a style? Be assured that hereafter he will be a light to us in our adversity, and a protector to our palace in distress."[2] From that time they treated him as their own son; and when he became a man, they gave him their daughter in marriage. Tarquin was afterward assassinated by shepherds set upon him by the sons of Ancus Martius, and Servius Tullius succeeded to the throne.

Servius built a great wall around Rome, reorganized the army, and made his city leader of Latium. Such were his magnificent deeds. But the plots of his wicked daughter, Tullia, embittered his old age; and at last he was openly murdered by her husband, Tarquin the Elder's son, who, succeeding to the throne, gained the hateful title of "*the Proud*." The younger Tarquin completed the public works his father had begun. On these buildings he compelled the citizens to labor unrewarded till they cursed the tyrant. One day the Sib'yl of Cumae came to him with nine books of prophecies of Apollo concerning the future of Rome. She wished him to buy them, but he objected to the price. After she had burned six of them, however, curiosity

[1] Livy i. 34. [2] Livy i. 39.

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and religious fear led him to pay the original price for the remaining three. He placed them in charge of a college of two men of rank, who kept them in a vault beneath the temple of Jupiter on the Cap'-i-to-line Mount and consulted them whenever the state was in especial danger or distress.



GROTTO OF THE SIBYL
(Cumae)

But the end of kingly rule was drawing near. The last Tarquin broke the laws of the forefathers, slew senators, and so oppressed the people by hard labor that they were ready for rebellion. Matters came to a crisis when Sex'tus, the brutal son of the king, did violence to the honor of Lu-cre'ti-a, a model of virtue among Roman matrons. Col-la-ti'nus Tarquinius, husband of Lucretia, and Lu'ci-us Ju'ni-us Bru'tus, both kinsmen of the king, led the revolt of nobles and commons against the tyrant. He was banished, and Brutus persuaded

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the people to swear that they would nevermore suffer a king to rule at Rome. In place of a single lifelong sovereign, the people thereafter elected annually two consuls as chief magistrates with equal power.

Though all the seven kings are probably mythical, the stories of them show in a general way the manner in which Rome grew and the character of her institutions in the prehistoric age.

221. Occupations and Character of the Romans. — As Rome was on a navigable river, and well situated for small trade with the



CINERARY URNS REPRESENTING PRIMITIVE ROMAN HUTS
(Vatican Museum; found in the ancient cemetery at Alba Longa)

Etruscans and other neighbors, some of the citizens engaged in making wares and in buying and selling. Most of the Romans, however, were peasants. The farmer, clad simply in a woollen shirt, or tunic, which reached the knee, followed his bronze-shod plough drawn by a yoke of cattle. His narrow mind held only sober, practical ideas; for he saw nothing of the world beyond the mountains bordering the plain of the Tiber, — mountains which inspired him with no love of the beautiful and the grand, but rather with a feeling of hatred for the

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enemies who were wont to sweep down from them upon his little field. His laborious life, his warfare against famine, pestilence, and neighbors who were always harassing, made him stern and harsh, and even in his dealing with the gods, calculating and illiberal. Though love, pity, and benevolence found little place in his heart, he was strong in the more heroic virtues, — he was dignified, brave, and energetic; he reverenced the gods and the forefathers, and obeyed the laws; above all, he was a man of his word.

222. The Family, the Curia, and the Tribe. — The simple but severe character of the Romans found expression in the family. Marriage was a religious act which made the home sacred, the house a holy place. Within lived Vesta, whose altar was the hearth; within were the spirits of the ancestors, who, in the form of La'res, guarded the house from every harm; within, too, were the Pe-na'tes, who blessed the family store.

The father was priest of these gods, owner of the estate, and master of his wife and children through life. He could load his son with chains, sell him into slavery, or put him to death. Even if the son were a senator or magistrate, the father could drag him home and punish him for misconduct. Woman was always under guardianship, the maiden of her father, the matron of her husband. Nevertheless she was respected: the wife was a priestess at the hearth; and in case the father left no will, the mother and the daughter shared equally with the sons in the inheritance. In this strict, moral school, young men were disciplined for public life.

Several families united in a *cu'ri-a* or brotherhood. On certain festal days the men of a brotherhood ate together in a common dining hall containing a sacred hearth, on which they kept fire burning perpetually in honor of Juno. When war broke out the members of a curia followed their leaders to the front, and stood side by side on the field of battle. Kinship and religion inspired them to deeds of daring; "the soldier felt ashamed to forsake the comrades with whom he had lived in communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites." Ten curiae united in a *tribe*, and three tribes composed the state.

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Whatever else the tribes might have been, we know at least that they were military divisions. It seems probable that in early Rome the commons of each tribe formed a regiment of foot, and the nobles a troop of horse.

223. The Social Ranks. — The commons were called ple-be'ians ("the multitude") and the nobles, pa-trī'ci-ans. Those families were patrician whose fathers were qualified by birth to be senators, magistrates, and priests. The king could ennoble any plebeian whom he considered sufficiently marked by wealth or personal merit. As the patricians alone were acquainted with the laws, which were unwritten, the plebeian, to secure protection for himself and his family before the courts of law, chose a noble as his patron, whom he bound himself to serve as a client. Thus many of the plebeians became clients of the patricians. The duty of the patron was to give his clients legal advice in their business, to sue for them when injured, and to defend them when sued. The clients, on the other hand, followed their patron to war and supported him in public life, labored in his fields or made him presents, that he might fill his offices with becoming dignity. Though the original object of clientage was doubtless good, we shall see how, after the overthrow of the kingship, it became intolerably oppressive (§ 242).

224. The Government. — When the king wished to consult his people on questions of public interest, his criers went about the city with ox-horns, calling them to the *co-mĭ'ti-um*, or place of assembly. Here the curiae met, each in a group by itself, and listened to the proposition of the king with the reasons he might urge in its favor. Then each curia voted whether it would sustain or oppose the king's wish; and a majority of the curiae decided the matter. This assembly was called the *co-mĭ'ti-a cu-ri-a'ta*. The king consulted it when he wished to begin a war, to conclude a treaty, to change an existing custom, or to undertake any other important business.

To be binding, such a decision of the assembly had to receive

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the sanction of the senate, — the *pa'trum auc-tor'i-tas*. As all, without distinction of rank, had a voice in the comitia, a great majority of that body were necessarily plebeians. It was chiefly through the senate, therefore, that the nobles exercised their political influence. This body, at first very small, gradually grew with the development of the nobility, till at the close of the regal period it is said to have contained a hundred and thirty-six members. The king was accustomed to ask the advice of the senate on all important matters; and though he was not legally bound by this advice, he generally followed it through respect for the nobles and through desire for their support and coöperation.

On the death of a king the senate took entire charge of the government; the senators ruled by turns, each for a period of five days, in the order determined by lot. The ruler for the time being was termed *in'ter-rex*, and the period between the death of a king and the election of his successor was an *in-ter-reg'num*. The interrex nominated a king, the assembly elected him, and the senate gave its sanction. Then the assembly conferred upon him the *im-pe'ri-um*, which made him absolute commander in war and supreme judge with power of life and death over his subjects. In addition to these duties, he was head of the state religion. Although originally but a citizen, he now occupied a place of great dignity and power. Accordingly he dressed in an embroidered purple robe and high red shoes, and with an eagle-headed sceptre in his hand sat on an ivory throne, or on his judgment seat, the curule chair. In his walks he was accompanied by twelve attendants, called lictors, each bearing an axe bound in a bundle of rods. The axes signified his absolute power extending to life and death.

225. Religion. — As the Romans of a later age assigned the beginnings of their state and constitution to Romulus, they imagined Numa the author of most of their religious institutions. Near the comitium he built a temple to Ja'nus, the double-faced god, who blesses the beginnings and ends of actions. The gates of his temple

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were open in war and closed in peace. During the reign of Numa they were shut, but rarely thereafter in the long history of Rome. Besides Janus there are father Jove, or Jupiter, the chief guardian of Rome; Sat'urn, who blesses seed-sowing; Mi-ner'va, "who warns the husbandmen in time of the works to be undertaken"; Mars, god of war; Juno, wife of Jupiter; Vulcan, "who strikes the sparks from the forges of the Cy'clops with reiterated beat";[1] Venus, a garden goddess, afterward identified with the Greek goddess of love; and a host of other deities. Every object and every act in nature and in human life had a guardian spirit, the most important of which the Romans worshipped as gods. Services of the chief deities were held by priests — *fla'mi-nes*, plural of *flamen* — whose lives were made uncomfortable by strict rules governing every detail of their conduct.



MINERVA
(Etruscan)

Certain religious duties were the care of groups, or *colleges*, of sacred persons. Such were the six Vestal virgins, who attended to the worship of Vesta, and kept the sacred fire of the state in her temple. Twelve priests of Mars, called leapers, in purple frocks girt with a broad, bronze-studded belt, carried through the streets the sacred shields, upon which they

[1] Horace, *Odes*, i. 4.

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clashed their short swords, while they leaped and sang to their god. Augurs took the auspices for the king, by reading the will of Jupiter in the lightning and in the flight of birds; and the pontiffs, who had charge of all divine knowledge, instructed the citizens in worship.

226. The Growth of Rome; the Reforms of Servius. — The earliest settlement at Rome, as we have noticed, was on the Pala-



CLOACA MAXIMA

tine.[1] Gradually the population outgrew this narrow space, and built their dwellings on the neighboring hills. Then one of the kings took possession of the Capitoline Mount and established his citadel there. At first the people could not live in the valleys which separated the hills, because they were marshy and often overflowed. The Tarquins drained these low grounds by means of arched sewers, some of which were so large that a loaded hay-cart could pass through them. The most famous of these works was the Clo-a'ca Max'i-ma ("the greatest sewer"), which drained the Forum[2] and

[1] § 212.

[2] Find the Forum and the Capitoline Mount on the map of Rome, p. 278.

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made the ground about it habitable. The public life of the community henceforth centred in this valley. The smiths and the shopkeepers set up their stalls round the Forum. About it the king built temples; and adjoining it on the northeast they made an assembly-place — the comitium — in which they built a senate-house. Above the Forum, on the Capitoline, they erected a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, — usually known as the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter. Though in the heavy Etruscan style, it was for centuries the most magnificent building in Rome. They provided, too, for the amusement of the people. The valley between the Palatine and the Av'en-tine was a convenient place for races and other games. On the sloping hillsides which bounded it one of the Tarquins erected wooden seats for the spectators, naming this building and enclosure the Circus Maximus. Finally they surrounded the Seven Hills of the city with a huge wall, parts of which remain to this day. Myth makes Servius Tullius not only the builder of the wall but the creator of new local tribes and the reorganizer of the army.

227. The Servian Army and the Servian Tribes.[1] — Hitherto the tribes and curiae had furnished their regiments and companies for war.[2] Each group was a mere crowd of men poorly armed and without discipline or tactics. It was the same crude military system which we find among the early Greeks and Germans. The Spartans, however, perhaps as early as the eighth century B.C., invented the phalanx,[3] which soon found its way to the colonies in Italy and in Sicily. Thence Servius adopted it for his own state.

As each soldier had to arm and equip himself at his own expense, Servius found it necessary to take a census of the citizens in order to know who should buy heavier, and who lighter, armor. First he divided the city into four districts, called tribes, and the country into sixteen tribes. Each tribe included also the citizens who owned land within the district. Taking the census tribe by tribe, Servius divided the citizens into five classes according to the size of their freeholds. He required the members of the first or wealthiest class to equip themselves with the heaviest and most efficient arms, those of the second class to buy somewhat less complete equipments, and so on to the lowest. The three wealthier classes were heavy-armed and stood in lines, one behind another, while the fourth and fifth classes, as light-armed troops, served wherever occasion de-

[1] Cf. § 78, n. 2. [2] § 222. [3] §§ 38, 88.

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manded. In the front line were forty centuries of a hundred men each; and in the second and third lines were ten centuries each. Of the light-armed troops there were ten centuries in the fourth class, and fourteen in the fifth. Thus the phalanx contained eighty-four hundred footmen. From early times it appears to have been composed of two divisions, termed legions, of forty-two hundred foot-soldiers each. This organization included mainly plebeians; the patricians continued to serve in the cavalry, of which there were six centuries, three to each legion. The army, thus organized for the field, contained the men of military age — from seventeen to forty-six years. The older men remained in the city for the defence of the walls.

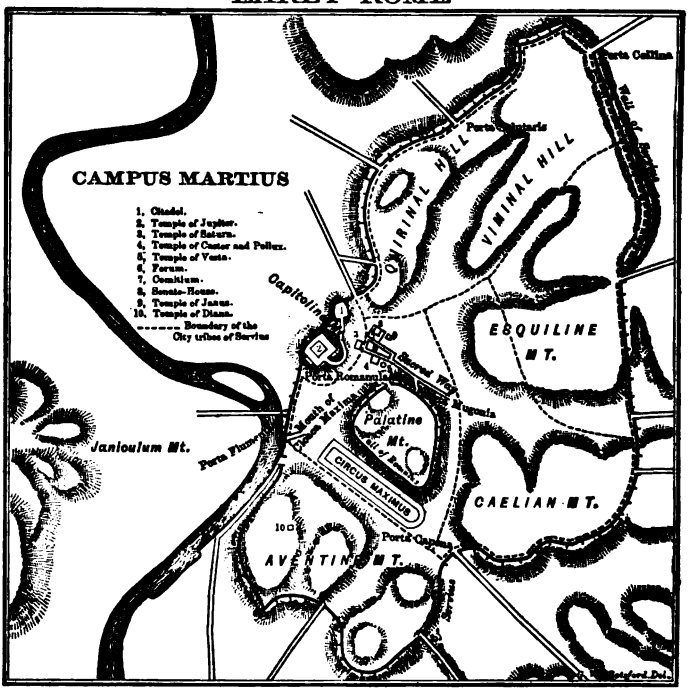
228. Causes of the Greatness of Rome. — At the time of this new arrangement the territory of Rome had increased four or five fold, chiefly at the expense of the Etruscans, the Sabines, and the Latins. When Rome subdued a neighboring city she razed the walls and everything they enclosed, excepting the temples, and seized a third or perhaps a half of the conquered land. She compelled many of the dispossessed people to settle on her own hills, and admitting all to the citizenship, bestowed the patriciate upon the nobles. With the growth of her territory, therefore, came a corresponding increase in her population and her military strength. After the reform of Servius, Rome could put into the field a well-organized and well-disciplined army of about nine thousand men, foot and horse, — the strongest force in Latium.

In the character and surroundings of the Romans we discover several other causes of their future greatness. By persistent labor on their little farms the peasants acquired the patience and the strength of will which were to make them the best soldiers in the world. As sober, practical men, with none of the imagination or the ideals of the Greeks, they developed a rare talent for law, organization, and self-government. The Seven Hills gave a unique opportunity for settlements so close together that they found it necessary to combine in one state. This union increased the strength of Rome, and introduced a precedent for the free admission of strangers to citizenship. The unhealthfulness of the neighboring plain, by forcing men to build their homes on the Hills, encouraged

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city life and intelligent enterprise. Then, too, the advantage of the situation for small trade and manufacturing made the City of the Seven Hills the chief market of the Latins. Commercial intercourse with the Greeks led Servius to adopt their superior military system,

EARLY ROME



which in turn made Rome the political head of Latium. This event was the beginning of a great career.

Servius and the Tarquins helped much to give their city this proud place in Latium. But no sooner had the last Tarquin been expelled, and the monarchy displaced by a republic, than Rome found her very existence threatened by seditions at home and by powerful enemies on every side.

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Topics for Reading

I. The Myths of the Kings. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. ii.

II. The Government in the Time of the Kings. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 25–27; Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 22–29; How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, pp. 42–45; Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, ch. ii. The theory that in early Rome the curiae were made up exclusively of patricians has no foundation.

III. The Religion of Early Rome. — Ihne, *Early Rome*, ch. vi; *History of Rome*, i. pp. 117–121; Duruy, *History of Rome*, i. pp. 199–234.



THE WALL OF SERVIUS

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CHAPTER III

ROME BECOMES SUPREME IN ITALY[1] (509–264 B.C.)

First Period of the Republic — External History

229. Foreign Affairs (509–486 B.C.). — The change from kingship to republic came in 509 B.C. In that year the consuls, who were now the chief magistrates,[2] made a treaty with the strong, rich city of Carthage. Their nearer neighbors, the Etruscans, however, began to trouble them. From the little we know of this matter we may infer that Lars Porsena, an Etruscan king,[3] conquered Rome and held her in subjection for a few years. The Latins, too, abandoned her leadership. But the Romans threw off the Etruscan yoke; and the story is that in a terrible battle at Lake Re-gil'lus they completely overthrew the Latins. Thereupon in 493 B.C. Spu'ri-us Cas'si-us, the leading statesman of the early republic, negotiated with them a perpetual peace; the Latin League and the city of Rome were to furnish yearly commanders alternately, and were to share equally the spoils and the conquered lands. A few years later the same statesman extended these terms of union to the Her'ni-cans, who, though dwelling in a mountain valley above Latium, may be classed with the Romans and the Latins as civilized lowlanders in contrast with the Sabines, the Ae'qui-ans, and the Vol'sci-ans, — rude mountaineers.

[1] Teachers are advised to present the external history before the internal, following the order of the book. But some may prefer to reverse the order and offer ch. iv to their classes before ch. iii.

[2] §§ 220, 240.

[3] § 213, n. 2.

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230. Wars with the Aequians and the Volscians (486–405 B.C.). — The men of the plain had to fight continually in defence of their property and their lives against the hungry tribes of the hills. It was a long, hard struggle. Year after year the Sabines, descending from their mountain homes, pillaged the Roman territory. Often, too, the beacons, blazing on the ramparts of Tus'cu-lum, announced that the Aequians were besieging that city, or the smoking farmhouses in the distance signalled to Rome their story of desolation. Then the plebeian, quitting political strife in the Forum, or leaving his plough in the furrow, took down from the walls of his hut the armor King Servius had ordered his grandfather or great-grandfather to buy, and hastened to his place in the phalanx. In open field this army, strengthened by the allies, was more than a match for the unorganized bands of Aequians. But defeating highlanders seemed like beating the air. Light as the wind they withdrew to their homes among the crags, and as lightly swept down again upon the unprotected fields of the allies. They seized Mount Al'gi-dus, cut the Hernicans off from the Romans, and raided the plain to within three miles of Rome.



LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS
MYTHICAL FOUNDER OF THE REPUBLIC
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome)

The story is told that once they entrapped a consul and his army in a valley. Thereupon the other consul, at the request of the senate, nominated *Cin-cin-nā'tus* dictator. This was a magistrate appointed in time of danger to govern the state with absolute power. He com-

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manded the army, and the "master of horse" whom he chose led the cavalry. Now when Cincinnatus was made dictator, messengers bore the commission across the Tiber to his four-acre farm. Finding him in his tunic engaged in some rural work, they greeted him as he leaned on his spade. "Put on your toga," they said, "to hear the message of the senate." "Is not all well?" he asked as he sent his wife to the house for his gown. Then wiping the sweat and dust from his brow and putting on the toga, he listened to the message. He took command. Without delay he relieved the besieged army, humbled the enemy, and returned to Rome, his troops laden with booty. So brilliant was the victory that the senate granted him a *triumph*. A grand procession, accordingly, moved along the Sacred Way[1] through the Forum, then up the Capitoline to the temple of Jupiter. In front were the captive leaders of the Aequians; men followed with the standards of the enemy; then came the triumphal car in which sat the general clad in splendid robes. Behind the car the soldiers marched carrying the booty, singing the hymn of triumph, while the citizens spread tables before their houses for the entertainment of the army. The procession halted before the temple, that the general might bring the chief of the gods an offering of gratitude for the victory. Then resigning his command the sixteenth day after taking it, he returned to his farm. Though not genuine history, the story of Cincinnatus gives a true picture of the simple life of those early times and of the triumph of a victorious general. After Cincinnatus, the Romans had still many years of unsuccessful war with the Aequians.

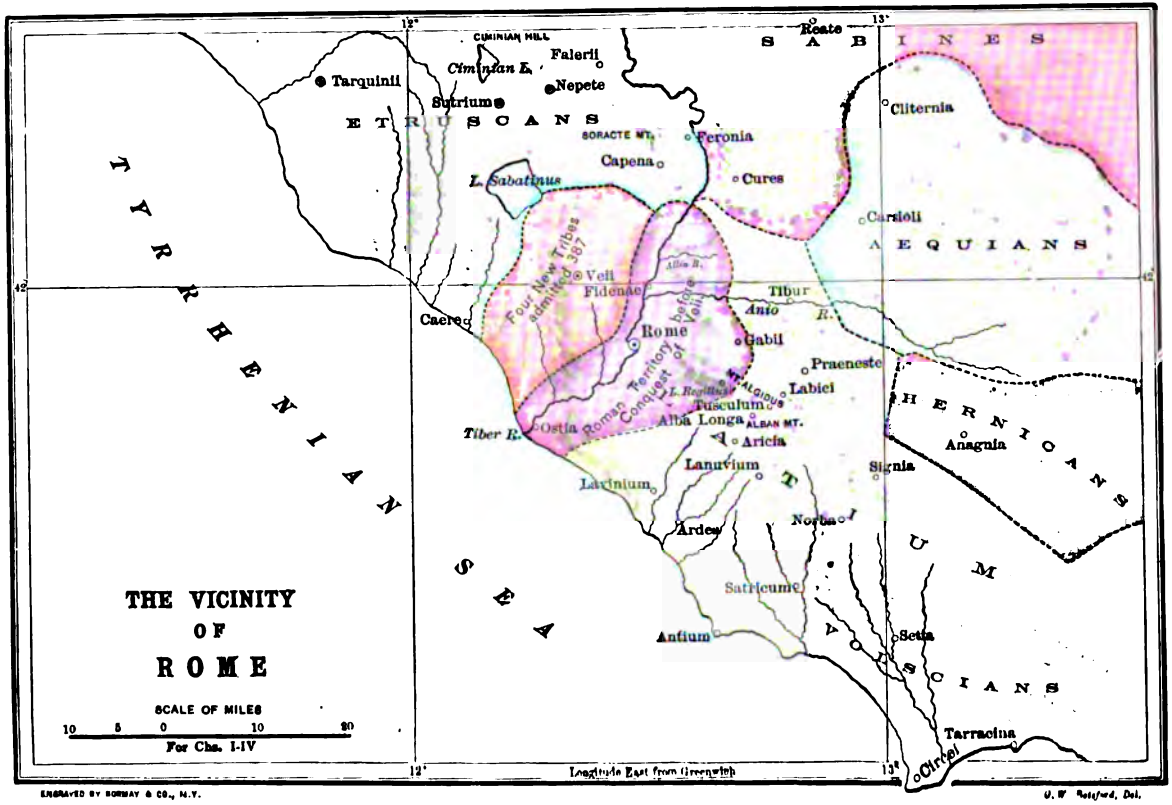
Meantime tribes of *Volscians*, who lived in the mountains south-east of the Hernicans, descending into Latium, overran the country to within a few miles of Rome. At one time the mountaineers held nearly all Latium. But after a long struggle for existence, Rome and her allies began to make headway against their enemies. The crisis came in 431 B.C., when the Romans, in a fierce battle, stormed

[1] Map, p. 386.

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the camps of the Volscians and the Aequians on Mount Algidus. Henceforth the Romans steadily advanced. Before the end of the century they had recovered Latium (405 B.C.). Though the Aequians and the Volscians still gave trouble, they ceased to be dangerous.

231. The Siege of Veii and the Sack of Rome (405–390 B.C.). — Toward the end of the century the Romans began war upon Vei'i, an Etruscan city as large as their own, situated twelve miles distant on a steep and strongly fortified height. After a long siege the dictator Ca-mil'lus took it, by digging an underground passage from his camp to the citadel. He permitted the soldiers to plunder the city, and sold the inhabitants into slavery. This conquest doubled the Roman territory, which soon afterward extended on the north to the Ci-min'i-an Hill.



AN ETRUSCAN VASE

In Etruria Rome first came into collision with the Gauls — tall warriors with fair hair and flashing eyes. Wherever they marched, "their harsh music and discordant clamors filled all places with a horrible din." More than a century before this time they had begun to cross the Alps and to drive the Etruscans from the Po Valley. Now they were invading Etruria. About eleven miles from Rome, on the Al'li-a, a tributary of the Tiber, they met a Roman army of forty thousand

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men. The barbarians fought in dense masses; their enormous swords cut through the helmets and gashed the heads of the Romans. The men who had often faced the hill tribes in battle fled in terror from these gigantic northerners. Some took refuge in deserted Veii; others bore news of the disaster to Rome.

The city was in a panic; no one thought of defending the walls. The soldiers and the younger senators hurried to the citadel to strengthen its defences. There is a story that some of the priests and aged senators, placing their ivory chairs in the Forum, sat clad in official robes awaiting their fate. As the Gauls met with no resistance at the gates, they entered the city and besieged the citadel. Some of them under Bren'nus, their chief, descending to the Forum, as we are told in the story, "wondered at the men who sat there silent, with all their ornaments, how they neither rose from their seats at the approach of the enemy, nor changed color, but sat leaning on their staffs with fearless confidence, quietly looking at one another. The Gauls were astonished at so strange a sight, and for a long time they forbore to approach and touch them, as if they were superior beings. But when one of them ventured to draw near to Pa-pir'i-us and gently stroke his long beard, Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, at which the barbarian drew his sword and slew him. Then they fell on the rest and killed them, with any other Romans whom they found; and they spent many days in plundering the houses, after which they burned them and pulled them down in rage at the men on the Capitoline, who, instead of surrendering, repelled the assailants. For this reason the Gauls wreaked vengeance on the city, and put to death all their captives, men and women, old and young alike."[1]

At length the Romans on the Capitoline, weary with continual watching and threatened with famine, offered Brennus a thousand pounds of gold if he would withdraw. It is said that the barbarian chief threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming, "Woe to the van-

[1] Plutarch, *Camillus*, 22.

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quished!" and that while the parties were disputing over this increased demand, Camillus, again dictator, appeared with an army on the scene and drove the Gauls away without their gold.

The people returned to the city and proceeded to clear away the rubbish. Each man built his hut wherever he found a convenient place. Within a year Rome with her narrow, crooked streets arose from the ashes.

232. Camillus reforms the Army.[1] — In addition to founding the city anew Camillus began to reform the army. Before his time the soldiers served without pay and equipped themselves according to their means. In the war with Veii, however, the senate began to pay them for service, thus making possible a thorough change in the military system; for henceforth the citizens, who had been accustomed to short summer campaigns, could serve the entire year, when necessary, and the poor man as well as the rich could buy a complete equipment. Hence the distinction of classes in the armor and in the arrangement of the troops gave way to a ranking according to experience.[2] The recruit entered the light division; after a time he passed to the front line of the heavy infantry, thence to the second line, and when he became a veteran, to the third. The soldiers of the first two lines, besides defensive armor, carried each two *pi'la*, or javelins, for hurling, and a sword. The veterans were armed in the same way, except that instead of javelins each carried a lance.

In place of the solid phalanx, the lines of heavy-armed men were now divided each into ten companies, called maniples, stationed at intervals in such a way that the vacant spaces in a line were covered by the companies of the following line. Ordinarily a legion consisted of three thousand heavy-armed troops and twelve hundred light-armed. The number of legions varied according to the requirements of war.

As great a change took place in the cavalry. Down to the war with Veii the knights, whose horses were furnished by the state, and who were all or nearly all patricians,[3] carried light arms in the early Roman fashion, and accordingly proved nearly useless. But in that war sons of wealthy plebeians volunteered to serve in the cavalry with their own horses. As the offer was accepted, they armed themselves with the heavier and better Greek weapons, so that henceforth Rome had an efficient cavalry. There were regularly three hundred knights to a legion, as before.

Camillus made but a beginning of this reform; it required the experience of more than a century of warfare to bring his work to completion.

[1] § Cf. 78, n. 2. [2] § 227. [3] § 222.

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233. The Organization of New Territory. — In the lifetime of Camillus the Romans were engaged in many more conflicts — with the Etruscans, the Volscians, and the rebellious Latins and Hernicans; but everywhere the hero led his legions to victory. The government secured its advantages by forming new tribes from the conquered territory and by planting colonies in Etruria and in Latium, — for instance, Su'tri-um and Se'ti-a. A Latin colony, whether made up wholly of Romans or shared with the Latin and Hernican allies, was one which enjoyed the privileges of an old Latin town. That is, it was an ally of Rome. The two just mentioned were of this class. A Roman colony, on the other hand, was one composed exclusively of Romans who continued to enjoy the privileges of full citizenship in the mother city. It was usually a garrison established in a maritime town for the defence of the coast. The earliest of this kind was probably An'ti-um, founded some years after the time of which we are now speaking. In addition to the colonies there were towns termed *mu-ni-cip'i-a*, all possessing the Roman citizenship, but in varying degrees. The people of Tusculum, admitted to the Roman state in 381 B.C., enjoyed full citizenship and self-government; those of Cae're, on the contrary, though citizens, could neither vote nor hold office at Rome, and at the same time their freedom was restricted by the presence of an officer termed prefect, sent from Rome to administer justice among them. As citizens they enjoyed the protection of life and personal liberty as well as the rights of trade and intermarriage with all other citizens. The system of organizing tribes, colonies, and municipia strengthened the hold of the leading city on the lands won in war. A great change had taken place in the relations of the allies to one another. A hundred years of warfare with the mountaineers had so weakened the Latins and the Hernicans that they could no longer claim equality with Rome. She now furnished all the commanders, and she claimed the lion's share of the spoils and of the conquered land.

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234. The First Samnite War (343–341 B.C.). — The half-century following the rebuilding of the city was a time of great military success for Rome. On every side she was victorious over her enemies, and either won new territory or secured more thorough control of the lands she had already acquired. In this period she came into contact with Samnium, the most powerful nation in the interior of the peninsula. For a time the two states were allies, but afterward quarrelled over the possession of Cap'u-a, a wealthy city of Campania. As the Samnites threatened to conquer Capua, this city gave itself up to Rome in return for protection. By accepting these terms the Romans brought upon themselves their first war with Samnium.

The two nations, however evenly matched, differed in character. The Samnites were mountaineers, who had no cities, no wealth, no king or aristocracy. Poor, but brave and free, they looked greedily down upon the well-cultivated plains on their western border. With their skilful swords they hoped to win a title to these rich lands. They were opposed in this project by a single city, governed by an able, warlike aristocracy. It controlled the resources of the plain extending from the Ciminian forest to the Li'ris River. No other country in Italy was so thoroughly centralized. Its army was a peasant militia, obedient to command, brave, patient, hardy, ready for long marches and severe toils, rarely over-elated by success or cast down by misfortune.

The Latins and the Romans entered this struggle with one soul; it was a national war for home and country, for the wealth and civilization of the plain against encroaching barbarism. They fought therefore with great spirit; the Samnites declared that in battle they saw fire in the eyes of the enemy and the fury of madmen in their faces, — this was their apology for flight. As a result of the war the Romans not only retained Capua but gained control of nearly all Campania.

235. The Great Latin War (340–338 B.C.). — In 341 B.C. Rome and Samnium suddenly made peace and alliance; but the Latins and

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other allies of Rome continued the war. Finally the Latins, thinking that they were as strong as the metropolis, demanded equal representation with the Romans in the consulship and in the senate; in place of allies they wished to be Romans. Though just, the demand was rejected with scorn; "a foreign consul and foreign senators sitting in the temple of Jupiter would be an insult to the supreme god of the state, as though he were taken captive by the enemy!"[1] The Roman historian asserts that the gods, resenting the impudence of the Latin envoys, sent a thunderstorm while they were speaking, and that as the chief of the embassy was passing down the steps of the Capitoline temple, he fell forward with such violence upon a stone that he lost his senses.

War followed. The Romans and the Latins were of one blood and speech and had long served under the same commanders. They had the same arms, the same military organization and discipline. Rome, however, enjoyed the advantage that comes to a single city in opposing a loose confederacy. She brought the war to a successful close in one or two fierce battles and a series of sieges. She then dissolved the Latin League and made separate treaties with Lau-ren'-tum, which had remained faithful, and with Ti'bur and Prae-nes'te — cities too strong for her to think of subduing. A few Latin towns were admitted to full Roman citizenship. The other towns of Latium and those of Campania received the citizenship without the right to vote and hold office at Rome. While most of the Latin communities retained their local self-administration, Rome sent out prefects to rule those of Campania.

236. The Second Samnite War (326–304). — For fifteen years there was peace between Rome and Samnium. During this time the Romans gained great strength by overthrowing the Latin League and by forming new tribes and planting fortified colonies in Latium and Campania. This ambitious policy made the Samnites fear for their own safety. Accordingly when Rome laid siege to Naples, a free

[1] Livy viii. 4 f.

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Greek city of Campania, the Samnites reënforced the place. This unfriendly act led to the Second Samnite War.

The fortunes of war varied. At first Rome was successful; then the tide turned in favor of Samnium. In 321 B.C. Pon'ti-us, the Samnite leader, enticed the consuls with forty thousand men into an ambush at the Cau'dine Pass, in a valley of the Apennines, and compelled them to surrender. The consuls, in the name of the state, consented to the enemy's terms of peace; the troops, deprived of their arms, passed humbly under the yoke,[1] after which all returned home but six hundred knights, who were detained as hostages. As the consuls retired from office, Lu'ci-us Pa-pir'i-us Cur'sor and Quin'tus Pub-lil'i-us Phi'lo, the two most eminent men in the state, were elected in their place. Under their influence the government rejected the treaty on the ground that it had not been ratified by the people, and delivered to the enemy the ex-consuls who were responsible for it.

Perhaps the most distinguished leader of the war was *Lucius Papirius Cursor*, mentioned above. "As a warrior he was worthy of every praise; for he had a quick mind and marvellous physical strength. In speed of foot he excelled all of his age, — whence came the name of Cursor to his family. Much practice in eating and drinking, or perhaps his remarkable health, had given him an enormous appetite and digestion. Never wearied by toil and marching, he wore out his army, foot and horse. When once the noble striplings in his cavalry ventured to ask that, as they had behaved well, he would excuse them from some of their work, he replied, 'You shall not say that no indulgence has been granted you; I excuse you from rubbing your horses' backs when you dismount.'"[2] As dictator he once threatened to have Fa'bi-us, his master of horse, killed

[1] A yoke was formed with three spears — two fixed upright in the earth, and the third placed across the top. Passing under the yoke was a sign of complete submission, and was, therefore, the worst disgrace which a soldier could undergo at the hands of an enemy.

[2] Livy ix. 16.

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for fighting contrary to orders. The fact that the officer had won a great victory by so doing did not excuse him in the eyes of this stern disciplinarian; only the prayers of the senate and people saved him narrowly. Thereafter these two men could never be friends.

Papirius was a model of firmness, strength, and energy. In these respects, as well as in his strict discipline and in his sense of responsibility and of the need of obedience, he was the ideal Roman of the age.

After the disaster at the Caudine Pass, the war dragged on from year to year. It was the policy of Rome to settle and organize every foot of conquered ground, and to hem in her enemy by establishing fortress colonies on the border. In 312 B.C. Ap'pi-us Clau'di-us Cae'cus, a great statesman, bound Campania fast to the imperial city by a military road from Rome to Capua, named after him the Appian Way. *Roads and colonies were the chief means by which Rome held and controlled acquired territory.*

But the feeling that Rome was bent upon conquest roused new enemies. First the Etruscans and the Umbrians joined Samnium; several lesser tribes followed; all Italy seemed aflame with war. At this crisis the consul Fabius, commander against the Etruscans, abandoning his communications, plunged boldly through the trackless Ciminian forest. Rome feared for her army, which had disappeared from sight; then came the happy news that it had emerged beyond the forest and was plundering the rich fields of central Etruria. This movement, followed by a great victory of Papirius in Samnium, broke the coalition (309 B.C.). The consuls of succeeding years gained fresh victories, ravaged Etruria, and captured the strongholds of Samnium. The war ended in 304 B.C.; though the Samnites had suffered great losses, they remained free, and renewed the former treaty.

237. The Third Samnite War (298–290 B.C.). — Rome contented herself with imposing these easy terms, as she wished to settle and

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to organize the territory won in the war. She aimed to cut Samnium off from Umbria and Etruria by strongly fortified Latin colonies and by military roads through central Italy.

The work of organization might have continued for years, had not an unforeseen event cut it short. The whole *Celtic race* was in commotion; hordes of these people invaded Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy at nearly the same time. Those who came into Italy swept with them the earlier Gallic settlers in the Po Valley. As



ROMAN SOLDIERS MARCHING

they invaded Etruria, the common people revolted against the oppressive nobles, welcomed the barbarians as their saviours, and gladly joined them in the war upon Rome. The Lucanians, the Umbrians, and some lesser tribes added their forces. *The Samnites inspired and directed the coalition.* It was a grand democratic uprising against Rome, the stronghold of aristocracy.

To hold his northern allies faithful, the Samnite commander broke through the Roman barrier which extended across central Italy, and

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reached Etruria at the head of a great army. Rome exerted herself to the utmost to meet this formidable league. Never had Italy seen armies so great or a military spirit so stubborn as in this war, which was to determine the fate of the peninsula.

The decisive battle was fought at *Sen-ti'num* in Umbria (295 B.C.). The Gallic war chariots furiously charged the Roman left commanded by the consul De'ci-us; the clatter of hoofs and the rolling of wheels terrified the Roman horses and put even the soldiers to disorderly flight. Then at the dictation of a pontiff who stood by his side, Decius solemnly devoted himself and the enemy to ruin and death: "I drive before me terror and flight, blood and death, the rage of the gods of heaven and hell. May the breath of the furies infect the foemen's arms! May the Gauls and the Samnites sink with me to perdition!"[1] As he said these words, he dashed on horseback into the thickest crowd of Gauls and perished on their spears. Though this religious act had little effect on the barbarians, it rallied the Romans. Strengthened by a force which Fabius, the other commander, sent from the right wing, they advanced to the attack; their javelins pierced the bulwark of Gallic shields; the barbarians fled. At the same time Fabius defeated the Samnites. By this victory Rome broke the league of her enemies. Deserted by their allies, the Samnites held out resolutely for five more years. At last Man'i-us Cu'ri-us Den-ta'tus, a peasant who by personal merit had raised himself to the consulship, compelled them to sue for peace. They were now dependent allies of Rome.

The strife between the plain and the mountains began in the wars with the Aequians and the Volscians as early at least as the beginnings of the republic. In time it culminated in a fierce struggle between Rome and Samnium, which, with brief interruptions, raged for more than half a century. The long conflict was now ended. It had desolated Italy from Etruria to Lucania. Cities and villages

[1] Livy x. 28.

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were in ruins; pastures and cornfields had become a lonely waste; thousands of warriors had fallen in battle and thousands of men, women, and children once free were now slaves of the Romans. Civilization had triumphed, yet at a great cost; the war whetted the Roman appetite for plunder and fostered slavery, the curse of ancient society.

238. The War with Tarentum or War with Pyrrhus (281–272 B.C.). — Rome next designed to win control of all southern Italy. She openly broke her treaty with the Tarentines, who called on Pyrrhus,[1] king of Epeirus, for help. This king, a brilliant military genius, came with a small but strong body of troops who were skilled in the arms and tactics of the Macedonian phalanx.[2] He first met the enemy at *Her-a-clei'a* (280 B.C.). Seven times the light battalions of Rome threw themselves against his "hedge of spears," only to be repulsed each time with heavy loss. Then his trained elephants, charging the weakened enemy, breached their lines like a volley of artillery. The Romans were shrinking before the "gray oxen," as they called these enormous beasts, when a sudden dash of the Thessalian horse completed their ruin. Allies now began to join the victorious general, who pushed on till he came within forty miles of Rome. So great had been his own losses in the recent battle, however, that he was anxious to make peace with the enemy, whose bravery and discipline he admired. Cin'e-as, his ambassador, spoke eloquently in the senate; the commons, too, preferred peace, that they might settle the lands acquired in the Samnite wars. But Appius Claudius Caecus, now old and blind, was carried on a litter into the senate-house, to raise his voice against these shameful proceedings: "Let Pyrrhus return home, and then we may make peace with him." In these words he set forth the principle that thereafter Rome would take care of the interests of Italy. Failing to win his cause by eloquence or bribery, Cineas returned to his master with the report that the Roman senate

[1] § 162. [2] § 186.

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was an assembly of kings. Pyrrhus won another battle at As'cu-lum (279 B.C.), so dearly that he remarked to his friends, "Another such victory will ruin us." Then he crossed over to Sicily to aid his countrymen against the Carthaginians; but even with his brilliant successes there, he failed to dislodge the enemy from the island. Returning with a few veterans to Italy, he was defeated at Ben-e-ven'tum (275 B.C.), by Dentatus, and thereupon withdrew to his home.

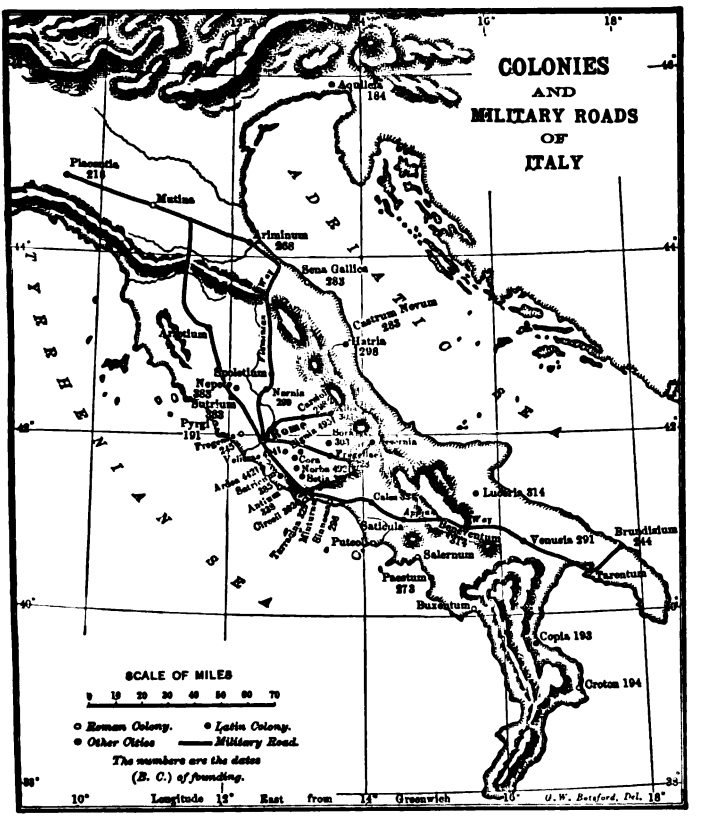
Pyrrhus was noble, generous, and brave. When his troops saw the splendid figure of their commander leading in the hottest of the battle, or mounted in their front on the rampart of a besieged city, hewing down the foe with his sword, they thought him more than human. But his genius was only for war; he knew not how to complete or to organize his conquests; he failed to attach to himself the peoples he had come to assist. The ease-loving Greeks of Italy and Sicily would have none of the discipline to which he subjected them. Refusing the rule of this chivalrous king and failing to unite in one state, they had nothing left but submission to Rome. After the departure of Pyrrhus Tarentum surrendered, and soon Rome became mistress of all Italy south of the Rubicon.

239. The Organization of Roman Rule in Italy. — Within this territory were communities of every grade of privilege, ranging from full Roman citizenship to subjection. First there were the thirty-three *tribes*, — soon to be increased to thirty-five, — containing the full Roman citizens and occupying much of the country which lies between the Apennines and the sea and extends from Caere to For'mi-ae. Although these citizens generally lived on their farms or in villages, they had a few larger towns, which enjoyed local self-government. Such towns were *municipia* of the highest class. Equally privileged were the Roman colonies founded mainly on the coast for the protection of the seaboard. Municipia of the second class enjoyed self-government and citizenship, except the right to vote and to hold office at Rome. A third class of municipia, ruled by prefects sent them from Rome, were called pre'fec-tures. Com-

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munities were reduced to this class generally as a punishment for rebellion or for other grave misconduct. These were the various grades of Roman citizenship; we shall now review the allies.

Of the allied communities, the nearest to the Romans in race, in



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privileges, and in friendship were the *Latins*. First among them were those which remained of the original Latin towns, as Tibur and Praeneste; next the Latin colonies founded in various parts of Italy, usually in the interior. The colonists were Romans or Romanized

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Latins, who prided themselves on their near relations with the mother city. They not only held the country about them in allegiance to the central government, but served at the same time as a means of spreading the Latin language and civilization throughout the peninsula. A network of military roads connected them with one another and with the governing city. Inferior to the Latins were those called simply the *Italians*, as for instance the Samnites. All the allied states, while exempt from taxation, furnished troops for the Roman army, with the exception of the naval allies, who provided ships and crews. Rome reserved to herself the right to declare war, to make peace, and to coin money, while she granted to the allies the privilege of trading with her but generally not with one another.

This gradation of rights gave even the lowliest community hope of bettering its condition; it isolated the allies from one another and bound them singly to the central power. The system here described extended northward only to the Ae'sis River; for the Se-no'nes, a tribe of Gauls occupying the Umbrian coast, now under Roman rule, were not allies but *subjects*, who paid taxes, or tribute. Indeed it was chiefly in opposition to the Gauls that the Italians, led by Rome, had come to look upon themselves as one people, — the nation of the gown against the nation wearing trousers. This federal system, based upon Italian nationality and directed by Rome, assured to the peninsula domestic peace and to the leading city a place among the great states of the world. The foremost powers of the East at this time were Egypt, — with which Rome allied herself in 273 B.C., — Macedonia, and the Seleucid empire; of the West, Carthage and Rome.

Topics for Reading

I. The Roman Legion. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 45–48; Ihne, *Early Rome*, pp. 195–197; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, pp. 214–218.

II. The Second Samnite War. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 54–59; *Story of Rome*, ch. iii; Shuckburgh, ch. xi; Ihne, *History of Rome*, Bk. III. ch. x.

III. Pyrrhus. — Plutarch, *Pyrrhus;* Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iii.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PLEBEIANS WIN THEIR RIGHTS

First Period of the Republic — Internal History

240. The Magistrates. — While Rome was gaining the supremacy in Italy, important changes were taking place in her government. In 509 B.C. the monarchy gave way to the republic. In place of a life-long king two *consuls* (colleagues) with equal power were elected annually by the assembly.[1] As each consul had a right to veto any public act of the other, the two rulers by checking each other hindered their office from growing too powerful for the good of the state. They enjoyed most of the authority of the king, together with his trappings and his attendants, as the curule chair[2] and the lictors. But in capital cases the consuls were compelled as judges to grant an appeal to the assembly; over the soldiers in the field, however, they exercised the same power as the king had possessed.[3] The command of the army usually alternated daily. Often in dangerous wars or seditions this double rule was a disadvantage to the



Curule Chair and Fasces
(Relief on a cippus, Avignon)

[1] § 220.

[2] Cf. § 224. The curule magistrates were those who sat in curule chairs. In the republican period they were the consuls, the dictator, the censors, the praetors, and the curule aediles. If a man elected to one of these offices was not already a noble, the position ennobled him and all his descendants; § 247.

[3] § 224.

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state. In such a case, at the request of the senate, one of the consuls nominated a *dictator*, who, placing the state under martial law, ruled with absolute power. He appointed a master of horse to command the cavalry. His term was limited to six months; and it was an honor to him to bring the government safely through the crisis and resign his command within the fewest possible days.

The consuls had assistants. Two quaes'tors, appointed by them, kept the treasury in the temple of Saturn on the Forum. Two other quaestors detected crimes, and two judges of treason (*du-um'vi-ri per-du-el-li-o'nis*) tried cases of treason and other grave offences against the state, while a single judge sufficed for private cases. The quaestors served for a year; the consuls selected judges for trials as they arose.

The supervision of the state religion passed from the king to the chief pontiff. He appointed the Vestals, and the priests, including the "sacrificial king" (*rex sa-cro'rum*). This priest-king now performed that part of the public worship which the king had attended to in person. In title the first man in the state, he was the weakest in real power, as he could hold no political office.

241. The Senate and the Assemblies. — All important places of honor and trust — military, political, and religious — were filled by patricians, especially by senators. Now enlarged to three hundred members, the senate continued to exercise all the powers it had held under the king. It even gained by the downfall of the king; for the consuls felt themselves under greater obligations to consult it and to abide by its decisions. It was composed of life members, who were taken from the leading families and were men of experience and ability. For this reason it was more influential than the consuls, who at the close of their year of office could be called to account for their administration. As the senate controlled both the magistrates and the assemblies, it was the chief power in the republic.

In place of the old gathering of the curiae, a new assembly, the *comitia cen-tu-ri-a'ta*, gradually developed from the Servian army.[1]

[1] §§ 224, 227.

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In the new comitia, accordingly, the citizens were grouped into centuries, each century with a single vote. There were in all a hundred and ninety-three centuries. As in the army, they were divided into knights and infantry; and the infantry were subdivided into five classes according to the amount of their property. The centuries of which this assembly was composed did not necessarily contain a hundred men each, but varied in size. A century of juniors was larger than one composed of seniors, while that of the proletarians (the landless) was by far the largest of all. Meeting in the Cam'pus Mar'ti-us outside the city, the assembly of centuries elected the magistrates, heard appeals in capital cases, voted on proposals for laws and for wars, and ratified the treaties made by the consuls.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMITIA CENTURIATA

	Juniors (17-46 years)	Seniors (above 46 years)
I. Class	40 centuries	40 centuries
II. "	10 "	10 "
III. "	10 "	10 "
IV. "	10 "	10 "
V. "	14 "	14 "
	84 centuries	84 centuries
	168 centuries	
Cavalry	18 "	
Substitutes for the killed and wounded	2 "	
Musicians and workmen	4 "	
Proletarians	1 "	
Total	193 centuries	

The knights voted first, then the five classes in their order till a majority was reached for or against the proposition. If the knights and the highest class, who together formed the majority of centuries, agreed, they decided the question, so that the voting proceeded no further. It rarely happened that all the centuries were called upon to give their votes.

The comitia curiata continued to meet to confer the imperium upon the newly elected magistrates and to attend to other such formalities. It had no longer a real authority.

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In the earlier assembly all enjoyed an equal vote; but the comitia centuriata gave more power to the wealthy and less to the poor. In estimating the importance of any Roman assembly, however, we must bear in mind that the presiding magistrate alone had the right to propose measures and to present candidates for election; that he and those he invited monopolized the speaking; that the common members had merely the right to vote. Then if the result displeased the magistrates or the nobles, they could annul it by having the augurs declare that some religious rite connected with the business had not been duly observed,[1] or the senate could refuse its sanction.

242. The First Secession of the Plebs (494–493 B.C.). — In most respects the common people lost by the overthrow of monarchy. The later kings had freed many of the poor from clientage[2] and had shielded them from the oppression of the nobles. But now that the poor no longer had a champion, the patricians began to reduce the small farmer to the condition of client from which the kings had freed him. They exacted illegal rents; arrears they regarded as debts bearing heavy interest. The creditor had a right to seize the delinquent debtor and his children, to hold them as slaves till they had worked off the debt, or to sell them into actual servitude to foreigners. A harsh creditor sometimes threw his debtors into his private prison and scourged them in the hope of influencing their kinsmen to redeem them. Livy, the historian, tells us that once "a certain aged man ran into the Forum with all the badges of his miseries upon him. His clothes were squalid, his pale, emaciated body was still more shocking, while his long beard and hair gave him a wild, savage look. In spite of his wretchedness, people recognized him as a centurion[3] and pityingly spoke of the distinctions he had gained in war. He himself showed a breast scarred in honorable battles. When asked whence came that wretched garb and that

[1] The plebeian assembly, however, — mentioned near the end of the following paragraph, — was free from the auspices.

[2] § 223, compare the Attic hectemori; § 74. [3] Captain of a century; § 227.

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ghastly appearance, he said to the crowd which had gathered about him, 'While I served in the Sabine War, the enemy pillaged my land, burned my house, and drove my cattle away. I borrowed money to pay my taxes; the debt increased till it robbed me of my forefathers' estate, and then the mischief reached my body, for my creditor put me not into slavery but into a house in which he scourges and slays his victims.' He then showed his back disfigured by fresh blows."[1] Though the debt came probably not from taxes, which were light in early times, but from the exactions of landlords, we may believe that Livy has given us a true picture of the miseries of the poor. The people revolted against such injustice; the whole army, deserting the commanders, marched off in good order to a hill afterward known as the Sacred Mount, and threatened to found a new city there, which should be free from patrician control. The senate, helpless without the support of the plebeian army, sent them an ambassador.

By an agreement drawn up on the Sacred Mount (493 B.C.) the plebeians were to have two annual officers of their own, called *trib'unes*, whose persons were to be sacred, and who were to protect all plebeians who felt themselves mistreated or oppressed. Any person, even a consul, who injured a tribune or hindered him in the exercise of his duties, might be slain by any one as a man accursed. The law forbade the tribune to be absent from the city over night and compelled him to leave his door open always, that the injured and oppressed might find refuge with him at any hour.

The plebeians had two other officers, named *ae'diles*, who assisted the tribunes. Meeting by curiae under the presidency of the tribunes, they elected their officers and passed resolutions which were binding only on themselves. Thus organized, they maintained the liberties they had and gradually gained more rights.

243. The Progress of the Plebeians (493–471 B.C.). — The plebeians soon found an earnest helper in one of the patricians, *Spurius Cassius*,[2] the most eminent statesman of his time. While he was consul,

[1] Livy ii. 23.

[2] § 229.

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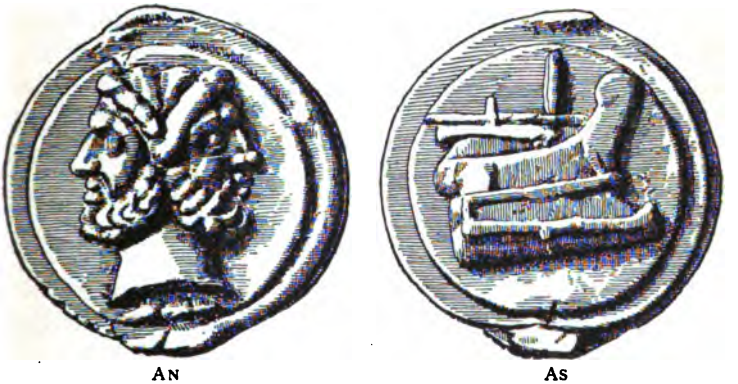
in 486 B.C., he proposed an agrarian law, the contents of which we do not know. He may have wished to take some of the public land from the rich, who were holding it, and to distribute it among the poor. The nobles would not permit his measure to become a law. They asserted that he had offered it merely to win popularity, — that his real object was to make himself king. When, therefore, his term of office expired, the quaestors prosecuted him for treason, and he was condemned to death.

The fate of Cassius shows how helpless the plebeians still were, and how strong were their oppressors. Though the nobles could not control the plebeian assembly through the auspices, they with their clients attended the meetings to impede the business. Among these dependents were many who owned no land. To destroy the influence of the latter class, *Pub-lil'i-us Vo'le-ro*, a tribune in 471 B.C., induced the senate and the assembly of centuries to pass a law which provided that the plebeian comitia should vote by tribes, each of the twenty-one tribes to cast a single vote. As only landowners were enrolled in the tribes, the landless were excluded from the assembly. The newly organized gathering, called the *comitia tri-bu'ta*, had as yet no authority over the state, but met simply for the transaction of plebeian business. In the same year the number of tribunes was doubled, and somewhat later was increased to ten.

244. The Struggle for Written Laws (462–452 B.C.). — Up to this time the laws were unwritten. The patricians, who were alone acquainted with them, handed them down orally from father to son. This exclusive knowledge they used for the oppression of the commons; the patrician judge decided cases in favor of men of his own rank, and no plebeian could quote the law as proof of the injustice. In 462 B.C. Ter-en-til'i-us, a tribune, began to urge the codification of the laws in the interest of the common people. Though the patricians were successful in opposing him, the tribunes of the following years, taking up his cause, carried on the struggle without interruption. Their aims were heartily favored by one of the

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patricians, Appius Claudius, a man of rare intelligence and ability. Under the influence of Appius and the tribunes the senate yielded, and sent a committee to some of the Greek states of Italy to examine their codes of law. It is possible that this committee went even to Athens to look over the laws of Solon,[1] some of which were still in force. On their return the centuries resolved that ten men (*de-cem'vi-ri*), with the power of consuls, should be elected for the purpose of writing the laws, and that during their term of one



AN AS

(A bronze coin of the fourth century B.C., weighing 10½ oz. Front, head of Janus; back, prow of a galley)

year they should have absolute control of the government; all other offices, including the tribunate of the plebs, were to be suspended.

245. The Decemvirs (451–449 B.C.). — Though plebeians were eligible to the new board of ten, the assembly filled it with patricians. The ablest and most influential of the decemvirs was Claudius; the others simply carried out his plans. Before the year ended they had engraved ten tables of the law, which, after ratification by the senate and people, they set up in the Forum, where all could read them.

As they had not finished writing the laws and as their government gave satisfaction to all alike, it was decided to elect decemvirs for the following year. On the new board were Claudius and three —

[1] § 79.

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possibly five — plebeians. Their liberal policy, and especially their efforts to promote manufacturing and commerce, angered the peasants and most of the patricians. As the senate and assembly refused, accordingly, to consider the two tables engraved in the second year, Claudius, with his colleagues, determined to remain in office till they secured the ratification; for the constitution compelled no magistrate to retire against his will. Hereupon their enemies accused them of acting like tyrants and of attempting to maintain themselves in power for life. Inflamed by the ex-tribunes, the plebeians seceded again to the Sacred Mount, and thus compelled the senate to depose the decemvirs contrary to law. Claudius and one of his colleagues were thrown into prison, where they were probably murdered; the other members of the board fled into exile. Then Va-le'ri-us and Ho-ra'-ti-us, consuls in 449 B.C., secured the ratification of the two tables. Intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was now prohibited by law, as it always had been by custom. With this exception the Twelve Tables equalized the private rights of all and continued to be the fountain of justice for centuries. As a part of their education thereafter Roman boys had to commit them to memory, — a text-book more useful than entertaining.

246. The Laws of Valerius and Horatius (449 B.C.). — Up to this time the resolutions of the comitia tributa, the plebeian assembly of tribes, were binding on the plebs only.[1] But Valerius and Horatius, who were friendly to the lower class, had a law passed which gave their assembly legislative power. With the previous consent of the senate the resolutions of the comitia tributa were henceforth to have the force of law for the whole people.

It was a great gain for the tribunes, who alone had presided over this assembly. Soon, however, state officers began to call it for the election of such minor officials as the quaestors,[2] and occasionally for

[1] § 243.

[2] The quaestors were at first appointed by the consuls (§ 240), but soon after the decemvirs they came to be elected by the tribes.

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other business. About the same time it was agreed that the tribunes should place their bench at the door of the senate-house, through which they could listen to the proceedings within. Thereafter if the senate passed an act to which they had no objection, they signed it, thus abandoning their right to oppose it in the assembly. But if the consul proposed a measure which displeased them, their "*Veto*," shouted through the door, caused the measure to be dropped. This simple word of theirs prevailed against the magistrates, the senate, and the assemblies. With their power thus increased, the tribunes resumed the struggle for equality of rights.



HOUSEHOLD GODS
(In a house at Pompeii)

247. The Canuleian Law (445 B.C.); the Consular Tribunes (444-367 B.C.). — A few years after the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, a law of the tribune Can-u-lei'us permitted marriage between the two ranks. Those wealthy and influential plebeians who alone were in a position to profit by this reform looked upon intermarriage with the patricians as a stepping-stone to office. They reasoned rightly; for immediately after the passage of the Canuleian law, the patricians formed a plan of admitting them to office, though not to the consulship. It was agreed that whenever the senate so determined, military tribunes[1] with consular power — or more

[1] Up to this time they were purely military officers appointed by the consuls. Six military tribunes commanded each legion. The change mentioned in the text consisted in the occasional *election* of from three to six *additional* "military tribunes with consular power" to take the place of the consuls for the year.

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briefly, *consular tribunes* — should be elected for the year in place of consuls, and that both ranks should be alike eligible to the office. Their reason for this arrangement is clear: the consuls were highly honored magistrates, who at the close of their term became influential members of the senate. Besides other distinctions, they and their descendants enjoyed the privilege of setting up in their halls waxen masks of their ancestors and of having these images carried in procession at their family funerals. This peculiar form of ancestor worship distinguished the nobles from the commons. In other words, the consulship ennobled forever the family of the occupant. Now as the consular tribunate[1] conferred no such honor, the patrician senate was willing to allow the plebeians occasionally to hold this office. The plebeian candidates, however, were so often defeated that at length the leading men of the party came to regard the consular tribunate as a disadvantage to their cause.

248. Other New Magistracies; Spurius Maelius. — All the powers of the consuls did not pass to their substitutes, the consular tribunes; for in 443 B.C. the Romans created two new patrician magistrates, the *censors*, whose chief duty was to make a register of the citizens and their property and to assign each man to his tribe and class, — a work hitherto performed by the consuls. They also let out the privilege of collecting the taxes to the highest bidders and attended to the erection of public buildings. Like the consuls, they were chosen by the comitia centuriata, and were curule magistrates. They were elected at intervals, usually of five years, and were required to complete the census within eighteen months after their entrance into office.

Soon after the institution of the censorship, there was a famine at Rome. On this occasion Spu'ri-us Mae'li-us, a wealthy plebeian, with his own money bought up grain from the neighboring states and distributed it free among the suffering. His generosity made

[1] With the exception of the consular tribunate, all curule offices conferred nobility (§ 240, n. 2).

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him so popular that he might easily have won the consular tribunate, had he offered himself as a candidate. The patricians, however, prevented this by charging him with attempting to make himself king; it was with this end in view, they asserted, that he had striven for popularity. Though the charge was utterly groundless, the senate proclaimed him a traitor, whom any one might kill as a man accursed. Ser-vil'i-us A-ha'la, a patrician, undertook the deed. Meeting Maelius in the Forum, he called him aside under pretence of wishing to speak with him, and then stabbed him with a dagger. The Romans of after time looked upon Maelius as a despicable traitor and Servilius as a citizen whom all should imitate.

Notwithstanding such misfortunes to their party, the plebeian leaders began to meet with greater success in their struggle for office. In 421 B.C. two *military quaestors* were instituted to attend to the financial business of the army.[1] At the same time it was agreed that plebeians also should be eligible to the office of quaestor, whether civil or military.

249. The Licinian-Sextian Laws (367 B.C.). — But the leaders of the commons desired especially to have the office of consul thrown open to them. Many plebeians, too, felt oppressed by debts and were discontented with the way in which the authorities disposed of most of the public land.

When they acquired land in war, they either (1) granted a part forthwith to settlers, or (2) leased, or (3) sold it. To these ways of disposing of the land the poor did not object; but (4) the larger part was left unsurveyed, and the authorities proclaimed that all who wished might work it on condition of handing over to the government a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit produced each year. From those who kept flocks on these lands, a share of the animals, both oxen and sheep, was required. In spite of the liberal form of the proclamation, however, it is clear that the patricians and wealthy

[1] Other quaestorships were afterward instituted to manage the finances of the provinces (§ 273).

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plebeians alone exercised the privilege of "occupying" or "possessing" portions of the unsurveyed land. They bought, sold, and bequeathed it till in time they came to look upon it as their own. Not satisfied with this advantage, a rich proprietor often ejected his poor neighbors from their small farms, which he then annexed to his estate. There is no wonder that the poor were dissatisfied with the unjust working of this system.



AN OLD SHEPHERDESS
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome; found on the Esquiline)

Marcus Manlius, a noble-hearted patrician, tried by his private means to remedy the distress, and set before the rich an example of personal kindness and benevolence. But the tribunes of the plebs prosecuted him for aiming to make himself king and had him put to death as a traitor (384 B.C.). They were determined that none but themselves should aid the commons and so reap the rewards of popularity. A few years after the death of Manlius, accordingly, the tribunes Li-cin'i-us and Sex'ti-us proposed a reform bill, which they urged all discontented plebeians to support. After a long struggle the bill became a law in 367 B.C. Its provisions were as follows: —

(1) There shall be no more consular tribunes, and one of the two consuls shall henceforth be a plebeian.

(2) Interest already paid on debts shall be deducted from the principal, and the balance of the debt shall be paid in three equal annual instalments.

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(3) No one shall occupy more than five hundred *ju'ge-ra*[1] of the public land. Probably provision was made for distributing the surplus among the poor in seven-acre lots by a committee appointed for the purpose.

(4) No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.[2]

250. The Effects of the Licinian-Sextian Law. — The second clause of the law was but a superficial remedy for the distress of the poor; it did nothing to remove the cause of poverty.

Licinius was himself fined somewhat later for violating the third clause. The last two clauses were soon allowed to become a dead letter, the tribunes made so little effort to enforce them. It is evident that their sole interest was in the first clause, and that they added the others simply to buy support.

The patricians were still eager to retain in their own hands as much authority as possible. The senate accordingly would not permit the first clause to go into effect till the people had consented to the institution of three new patrician magistrates: the *prae'tor*,[3] who was judge in civil cases, and two *curule aediles*, who were to supervise the streets and public buildings, the markets, and the public games.

The opening of the consulship to plebeians gradually *enlarged the nobility*. Henceforth it consisted not only of patricians but also of all plebeians who were admitted to a curule office, — themselves called

[1] A jugerum is a little less than two-thirds of an acre.

[2] In the course of the struggle over this law the two tribunes secured the passage of another law which raised the number of "Keepers of the Sibylline Books" from two to ten and provided that five should be plebeians (cf. § 220). Admission to this priestly college prepared the way for admission to the consulship.

[3] When, in 242 B.C., a second praetorship was instituted, the distinction first arose between the praetor *ur-ba'nus* and the praetor *per-e-gri'nus*. The first had charge of cases which concerned citizens only, while the second attended to those which affected an alien. Other praetorships were afterward added for the government of provinces (§ 273). The office was first occupied by a plebeian in 337 B.C.

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"new men," — together with their descendants. In other words, *the patricians and the plebeians ceased to be the political parties; thereafter the parties were* (1) *the nobles, who were office-holders and their descendants, and* (2) *the commons, who were the other citizens.*

Finally the passing of the law introduced an era of good feeling, which Camillus commemorated by a new temple to Con-cor'di-a at the end of the Forum beneath the Capitoline Mount.

Understanding that the fewer they were the more honor would be theirs to enjoy, the nobles strenuously opposed the admission of new members. They preferred to have one of their number hold the consulship four or five times, and other high offices in addition, rather than to receive new men into their privileged society. But when a law[1] was passed that no one should hold the same office within a period of ten years, or more than one office at a time, a greater number of new men was necessarily elected, and, in consequence, the nobility became more representative of the people as a whole. Before the fourth century B.C. closed, plebeians had gained admission to all the curule offices and finally to the colleges of augurs and pontiffs.

251. The Assemblies; the City Plebs. — While the leaders of the plebs were winning political rights, the people in their assemblies were striving for legal freedom from the control of the senate. A law of Publilius Philo (339 B.C.) compelled the senators, before the voting began, to give their sanction to bills brought before the comitia centuriata. The Hor-ten'si-an Law of 287 B.C. made unnecessary the consent of the senate to measures brought by the tribunes before the assembly of tribes.[2] Both assemblies were, therefore, constitutionally free from the control of the senate. Though one would naturally suppose that these acts opened the way to hasty legislation, such was not the case. The senate controlled the magistrates, and through them the assemblies.

[1] The Genucian Law, 342 B.C.

[2] Cf. § 276; Botsford, *Rome*, p. 88, n. 1.

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The explanation of this fact is to be found (1) in the changed character of the plebeian tribunate. Though constitutionally open to all plebeians, this office had fallen into the hands of a few great families, who passed it down from father to son. As these families entered the nobility, they still held the tribunate, and now made it a tool of the senate. From this time the tribunes, usually young nobles, had seats in the senate, which employed them accordingly as ministers for checking other officers and for bringing measures before the people. The magistrates who presided over the various assemblies were usually ready to obey the senate; but if any one of them dared offer a resolution which displeased the senate, it was generally easy to find a tribune to intercede against him and thus prevent the measure from being put to vote. (2) If this method failed, the senators might gain their point by asking the augurs to declare the omens unfavorable to the proposed measure. Hence it was that after losing the constitutional right to control the assemblies, the senate could govern them even more effectually through the magistrates, — especially the plebeian tribunes, — and through the auspices.

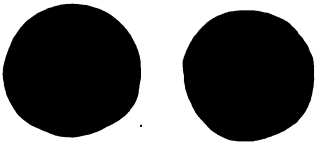
Formally the government was now a democracy; but in fact the senate, a purely aristocratic body, exercised more authority than ever before.

It is important to bear in mind that those plebeians who, since the beginning of the republic, had been winning the right to place men of their own rank in office and to make laws in their own assembly were all landowners, who alone belonged originally to the tribes. Excluded from the tribes, and consequently from the comitia tributa, were the various classes of landless people: laborers for hire, tenants, artisans, and tradesmen. But in 312 B.C. Appius Claudius Caecus[1] as censor enrolled these inferior citizens in the various tribes for the double purpose of giving them full political rights and of compelling them to serve in the army; for the Second Samnite War was then at its crisis. It was at this time that he began the great military road from Rome to Capua and a splendid aqueduct, which supplied his city with abundance of fresh water. These magnificent works, as well as his political reforms, greatly benefited the industrial and commercial classes. At the close of the war, however, as the government no longer needed the military aid of the landless, the censor

[1] § 236.

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Fabius put them into the four city tribes, which he degraded by ordering them to vote last. Thus the possessors of land remained superior to them in honor and in privileges.



A DENARIUS
(A silver coin struck soon after 286 B.C. Front, head of Roma; back, Castor and Pollux on horseback)

252. Civilization; State Discipline. — While the Romans were becoming masters of Italy and improving their laws and their constitution, they were also growing richer. About the time of the decemvirs they began to coin bronze, and long afterward silver. The nobles reaped the profits of large tracts of the conquered land and acquired a great number of slaves.



ÆSCULAPIUS
(National Museum, Naples)

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Following the example of Appius Claudius Caecus, they began to expend money on useful public works and to improve the appearance of their city, especially by building many temples. They adopted several Greek deities, among them Apollo, the prophet-god; Aphrodite, goddess of love, whom they identified with their own Venus; and Aes-cu-la'pi-us, god of healing. But they had as yet little thought of cultivating their minds. They possessed no literature, and with the exception of their temples, no art.

The early Romans were distinguished for their patience and energy. Their virtue, the fruit of a simple life, increased in strength and in severity throughout the period. This growth was owing to the care with which the republican government supervised the citizens. The magistrates had power to punish not only for crimes but for every offence against order, however slight, and even for immorality, including lazy or luxurious habits. While all officers enjoyed this authority, it became the especial duty of the censors to see that every citizen subjected himself to the severe discipline prescribed by the state.

Some of the most eminent men of the age were content with the frugal life of the peasant. One of them, Manius Curius Dentatus,[1] who prepared his own food in wooden dishes, insisted that seven jugera of land were enough for any citizen.

253. The Effects of Discipline. — The aim of education in the family and in public life was to repress the freedom of the individual in the interest of the state, to make a nation of brave warriors and dutiful citizens. The highest results of this stern training were reached in the Samnite Wars, — a period known thereafter as the golden age of virtue and of heroism. A citizen of this time was, in the highest degree, obedient to authority, pious, frugal, and generally honest. But though he was willing to sacrifice his life for the good of the state, he was equally ready to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbors; the wealthy did not hesitate to sell the poor into

[1] § 237.

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slavery for debt, till they were forbidden to do so by law. Their hard, stern souls knew neither generosity nor mercy. Severe toward the members of their family, cruel in the treatment of slaves, and in their business transactions shrewd and grasping, the Romans of the time, however admirable for their heroic virtues, were narrow, harsh, and unlovable. Greed was one of their strongest motives to conquest. Not for glory, — much less for the good of their neighbors, — did they extend their power over Italy; it was rather that more of the peasants might be supplied with farms and that the nobles might be given larger tracts of the public land and a greater number of places of honor and profit to use and to enjoy.

As long as they remained poor and under strict discipline, they were moral. In the following period they were to gain greater freedom from the control of their magistrates and, at the same time, power and wealth. These new conditions were to put their virtue and even their government to the severest test.

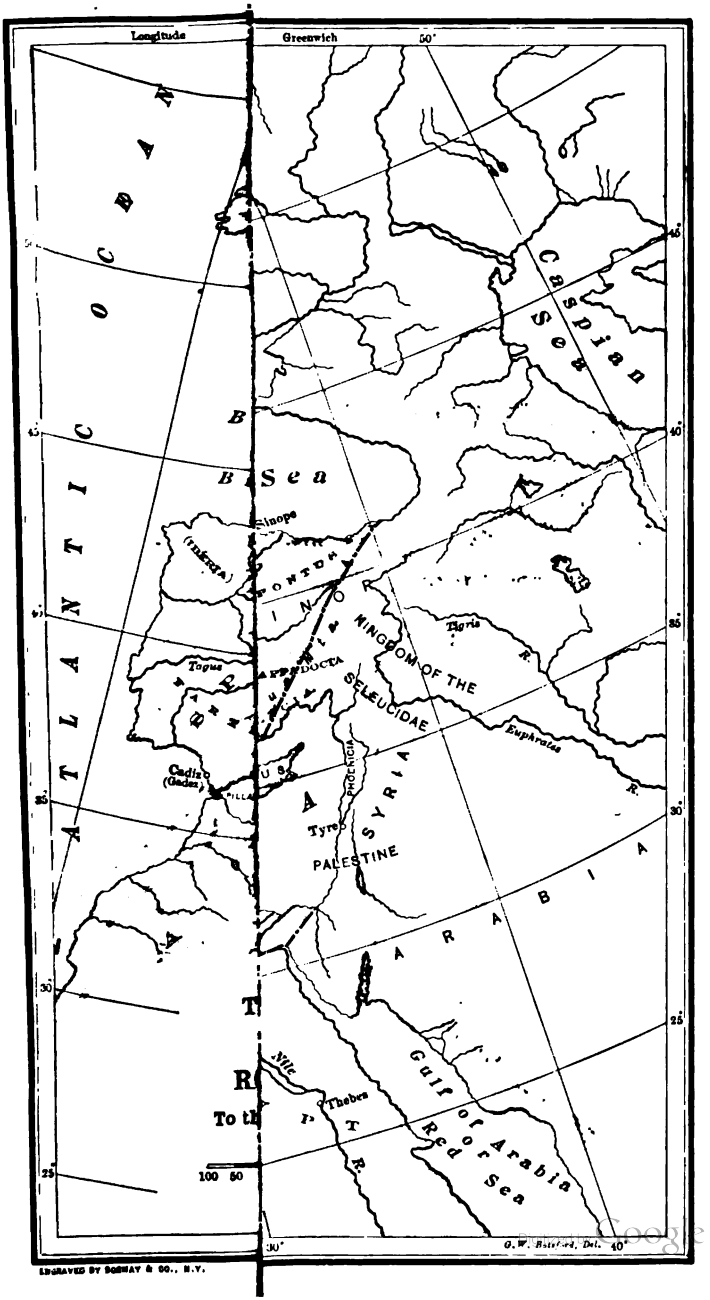
Topics for Reading

I. The Government of the Early Republic. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 66–71; Ihne, *Early Rome*, chs. x–xiii; Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 24–29.

II. The Decemvirs. — Botsford, *Rome*, pp. 76–79; Ihne, *Early Rome*, ch. xviii; Duruy, *History of Rome*, i. pp. 327–340.

III. Marcus Manlius. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. iv.

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Longitude
Greenwich
50°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Caspian Sea
B Sea
Sinope
(Trabeza)
PONTUS
KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDAE
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Tagus R.
Cadiz (Gades)
Tyre
PHOENICIA
SYRIA
PALESTINE
ARABIA
Nile R.
Thebes
Gulf or Arabia
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MESSANA
(Modern Messina)

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER (264–133 B.C.)

(SECOND PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — EXTERNAL HISTORY)

254. Rome and Carthage. — On the northern coast of Africa, opposite Rome, was the Punic city of Carthage.[1] Not only did the country about it produce abundant harvests, but it was well situated for trade with the East and the West, and with Sicily and Italy. These advantages made the city wealthy and prosperous. In time it became, too, a political power.[2] On the coasts and islands of the western Mediterranean Carthage built up a great empire. She was about to wrest all Sicily from the Greeks when Pyrrhus came as their champion.[3] He tried in vain to drive her from the island. As he departed he is said to have exclaimed regretfully, "What a fair battlefield we are leaving to the Romans and the Carthaginians!" These two nations were then allied against him, but he knew well that they would soon dispute the possession of Sicily. Quickly the Cartha-

[1] §§ 22, 116, 157–162. The adjective "Punic," which applies to Carthage, is derived from the Latin word for Phoenician.

[2] § 116.

[3] § 238.

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ginians regained the whole island with the exception of the territory belonging to Mes-sa'na and Syracuse. If they could conquer these two cities, they would naturally invade Italy. Rome, the protector of the Italians, was anxiously watching her rival's movements.

An Asiatic race, *the Carthaginians were inferior to the Romans* in character and civilization. Their public men were corrupt; they oppressed their subjects with heavy taxes, and gave them no hope of ever having equal rights with themselves. Their religion, too, was inhuman and immoral. Such being the case, it would have been unfortunate for any large part of Europe to fall permanently under their rule. It was the task of Rome to protect the higher and better civilization of Europe from this danger.

The *resources of the two nations* were quite different. With her magnificent navy Carthage controlled the sea. Her wealth enabled her to enlist great armies of mercenaries, who however often proved treacherous to the city they served. Rome, on the other hand, had only a few ships; but her soldiers were the hardiest and most stubborn fighters in the world, and, still better, they were devoted to their country. Nor was the government of Rome despotic like that of Carthage. Italy was a strong federation of kinsmen; each city managed its own affairs, but all acknowledged Rome absolute mistress of their military resources. The struggle between the two powers was to be long and severe; no one knew which would conquer.

The *immediate cause of war* was as follows. Some Campanian mercenaries, released from the service of Syracuse, seized Messana (Greek Messene). They killed the men and divided the women, children, and property among themselves. For a time the Mam'er-tines ("sons of Mars"), as these robbers called themselves, enjoyed their ill-got homes and levied tribute on many towns of Sicily; but threatened by both Greeks and Carthaginians, they appealed to Rome for aid on the ground of kindred blood. Although the senate felt it would be unjust to aid the Mamertines, it feared that if the Carthaginians should conquer them and gain control

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of all Sicily, they would not hesitate to lay hands on Italy. A less worthy motive to war was the desire of the senators to extend their power and with it their field for trade and speculation. The assembly was persuaded to vote for war, and accordingly one of the consuls skilfully brought an army into Messana, though the Carthaginians and Syracusans were besieging it by land and sea.

255. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.); Opening Events. — After driving the besiegers away, the Romans made an alliance with Hi'e-ron, king of Syracuse. The cities of the interior readily yielded, as they found greater security under Rome than either Syracuse or Carthage had given them. To drive the Carthaginians from the coast towns it was necessary to build a fleet. For though the Greek allies of Rome could furnish a few triremes, no one in Italy had yet attempted quin'que-remes, — vessels with five banks of oars, — such as made up the strength of the enemy's navy. But using a stranded Carthaginian quinquereme as a model, the Romans, with their usual courage and energy, began to build a fleet. While some were busy with this work, others trained the crews by having them sit in benches along the shore and practise rowing in the sand. When they had completed their fleet, they put to sea and engaged the enemy off My'lae (260 B.C.). Their ships were clumsy and their sailors awkward, but they boarded the enemy's vessels by means of drawbridges which they had recently invented, and thus gained the victory. This success increased their fervor for war. On the return of Du-il'i-us, the commander, Rome gave him an enthusiastic welcome as her first naval hero.

256. From the Invasion of Libya to the Defeat at Drepana (256–249 B.C.). — The Romans then built a fleet of three hundred and thirty vessels, and placing on board nearly a hundred and forty thousand men, they set sail for Libya. Off Ec'no-mus on the Sicilian coast they met and defeated a still larger fleet of the enemy, after which they continued on their way to Africa. There, under the consul Reg'u-lus, they gained victories and captured towns, till Xan-

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thip'pus, a Lacedaemonian, taught the Carthaginians to offer battle in the plain, where they could use their elephants and their great force of cavalry to advantage. The result was the destruction of the Roman army and the capture of Regulus.

Other misfortunes followed; but in 250 B.C. a great victory at *Pa-nor'mus* gave the Romans nearly all Sicily. Under these circumstances the government of Carthage sent Regulus, who was still a prisoner, to Rome, to arrange a peace, promising him liberty if he should succeed. He, however, urged the senate to persevere in the war. Then returning to Carthage in accordance with his oath, he is said to have suffered death by torture.

At this time the Romans were besieging Lil-y-bae'um on the west coast of Sicily. Farther to the north was *Drep'a-na*, where Ad-her'-bal, a Punic admiral, was stationed with his fleet. In 249 B.C. the consul Publius Claudius sailed from Lilybaeum to Drepana to surprise Adherbal. But the admiral, far from being caught napping, met the enemy and inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat. The Romans tried to account for this disaster by a story that when Claudius was planning the attack, he received word that the sacred chickens would not eat, — an omen which signified that the gods forbade the enterprise. Haughtily exclaiming that if the fowls would not eat, at least they would have to drink, he threw them into the sea. His impiety together with his lack of skill is given as the cause of this great misfortune.

257. Hamilcar Barca (247–241 B.C.). — While the Romans were besieging Lilybaeum, Carthage sent out a general who was to prove, in himself and in his sons, the most dangerous enemy Rome ever met. This was Ha-mil'car, surnamed Bar'ca (the "Lightning"), a man of extraordinary genius for war. He occupied Mount Erc'te, above Panormus, which was then held by a Roman army. On the top of the mountain he fed cattle and raised corn to support the handful of troops who performed wonders under the spell of his genius. From the little harbor beneath him his light ships harassed

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MOUNT ERCTE

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the Italian coasts, while from the eagle's perch above he used to swoop down, rapid as the lightning, upon the Romans in the neighborhood, and as easily retire to the nest which no enemy dared explore.

After maintaining himself for three years in this position, he suddenly abandoned it for a post on the side of Mount E'ryx, where he could coöperate with his friends at Drepana. But with his small force he could accomplish little. Neither nation in fact had any longer the means of supporting a fleet or a strong army in service. Without a navy Rome could not hope to gain complete possession of Sicily. Under these circumstances the wealthier citizens offered their private means for the building of new war-ships. With two hundred vessels thus provided for, the consul Cat'u-lus, at the Aega'ti-an islands, met a new Carthaginian fleet bringing supplies to Sicily, and totally defeated it (241 B.C.).

As the Carthaginians could carry on the war no longer, they gave Hamilcar full power to make peace. He agreed that they should give up Sicily, pay the Romans within ten years an amount equivalent to three and a half millions of dollars, and release all prisoners without ransom. After continuing twenty-three years, the First Punic War came to an end in 241 B.C. Some years later Sicily became a Roman province, — that is, a subject country ruled by a Roman magistrate.

258. Hamilcar in Spain (237–229 B.C.); Hannibal. — As Carthage could not pay her mercenaries for their service in the war, they mutinied, and were joined by the Libyans, who revolted against their harsh taskmasters. While the whole strength of Carthage was engaged in this war (241–237 B.C.), the Romans treacherously seized Sardinia; and when she remonstrated, they imposed upon her a heavy fine. Sardinia together with Cor'si-ca became the second Roman province.

Hamilcar's soul burned with hatred of the city which, by force and fraud, had robbed his fatherland of its naval supremacy and its fairest possessions. He began to think how he might lead an army

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into Italy and attack Rome. But as he could not depend upon mercenaries, he planned to create in Spain a province which should supply both troops and provisions for another war. When he was about to set out for Spain, he is said to have led his son Han'ni-bal, then a boy of nine years, to the altar and made him swear undying enmity to Rome. Hannibal went with his father, and was true to his oath.

In Spain Hamilcar occupied nine years in forming a Carthaginian province more by diplomacy than by war; he taught the native tribes to live together in peace under his rule and to develop the resources of their country. While he was engaged in this work, his skill and his money created a new political party at Carthage, — a vigorous democracy, which opposed the peace-loving capitalists and supported its leader in his far-reaching plans for war. "Then he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle in which he showed a conspicuous and even reckless bravery. As his successor, the Carthaginians appointed his son-in-law Has'drubal."[1]

Hasdrubal continued the wise policy of his predecessor with wonderful skill in gaining over the tribes and in adding them to his empire. When after eight years of such service he was murdered by a Celt, the soldiers with loud enthusiasm carried *Hannibal* to the general's tent and proclaimed him commander (221 B.C.). As they looked upon this young man, "the veterans imagined that Hamilcar in his youth was restored to them; they noticed the same vigor in his frame, the same animation in his eyes, the same features and expression of the face. . . . His courage in meeting dangers and his prudence in the midst of them were extreme. Toil could neither exhaust his body nor subdue his mind, and he could endure hunger and cold alike. He ate and drank no more than nature demanded. Working day and night, he thought of sleep only when there was nothing else to do; then wrapping himself in his military

[1] Polybius ii. 1.

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cloak, he would lie on the ground among the watches and the outposts of the army. Though he dressed as a plain officer, his arms and his horses were splendid."[1]

259. The Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.); Invasion of Italy (218 B.C.). — When Hannibal felt himself prepared, he attacked Sagun'tum, a city of Spain in alliance with Rome, and took it after a siege of eight months. This act gave the Romans a pretext for war. But while they were preparing to invade both Spain and Libya, Hannibal, with a well-trained army of fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and a number of elephants, crossed the Pyrenees and marched rapidly through Gaul. Recently the Romans had conquered the Celts of northern Italy. As this whole nation was indignant with Rome on account of injuries received, they eagerly supported Hannibal in his march through their country. It was not till the crossing of the Rhone that he met with opposition from the natives. When, however, he began the ascent of the Alps the real difficulties of his journey appeared; for the way was narrow and rough, and the mountaineers attacked him. From the higher ground, which secured their own safety, they rolled stones



"HANNIBAL"
(National Museum, Naples)

[1] Livy xxi. 4.

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and hurled missiles upon the troops and upon the long train of pack animals. Many soldiers fell, and many beasts of burden were either disabled or lost, so that the army suffered for want of provisions. At length with great toil and peril Hannibal reached the summit, where he rested his men and cheered them with some such words as these: "Here on the summit of the Alps, we hold the citadel of Italy; below us on the south are our friends, the Gauls, who will supply us with provisions from their bountiful lands and will help us against their foes; and yonder in the distance lies Rome!"

But when he reached the plain below, he had less than half the army with which he had set out from Spain. And those who survived were worn out with fatigue, hunger, and exposure to the cold. Their horses were lame, their clothes in tatters; they seemed more like savages than well-disciplined troops. With such forces he had come to attack a nation which numbered seven hundred thousand men of military age. And yet it was to be no one-sided contest. An army of trained soldiers, full of the spirit of their great commander, opposed a raw militia. A born genius for war, Hannibal had served an apprenticeship under his illustrious father; as general he had subdued fierce tribes of Spaniards and Gauls and had overcome the Alps themselves. Compared with him, though he was still young, the ablest Roman generals were tyros.

260. The Battle of the Ticinus and of the Trebia (218 B.C.). — The Romans, who had been dreaming of conquests, were astonished to hear that Hannibal was in the valley of the Po. He soon made them feel that the fight was to be for their homes and their country. In a light cavalry battle on the *Ti-ci'nus*, a tributary of the Po, he easily routed the consul Scip'i-o. Discovering that the Punic horsemen were far superior to his own, Scipio withdrew to the south bank of the Po, and sought the protection of the hills near the Treb'i-a River. Here his colleague, Sem-pro'ni-us, with another army, joined him and took chief command; for Scipio had been wounded in the battle.

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One stormy morning in December, Hannibal, after giving his men a good breakfast and plenty of oil for their bodies, sent out a band of cavalry to tempt the enemy across the river. Sempronius, who was eager for battle, that he might win for himself the glory of victory, readily led his army out before breakfast through the swollen *Trebia*. Hungry and numbed with cold, the Romans were doomed to defeat. The Carthaginian horse routed their wings, while Hannibal's brother Mago, an impetuous fighter, assailed them from an ambush in the rear. The struggle, though long, ended in the complete overthrow of the Romans. Ten thousand of their best infantry fought their way through the enemy and escaped. Nearly all the rest were killed or captured, and Hannibal held their camp. This great success led the Gauls, who had hitherto wavered, to cast their lot with the victor.

News of the misfortune depressed Rome. Throughout the winter the citizens could talk of nothing but evil omens. Meanwhile the government was preparing to resist the invader. One of the consuls, Gaius Fla-min'i-us, a great favorite of the people and an enemy of the senate, posted himself with an army at Ar-re'ti-um in Etruria. Servil'i-us, the patrician consul, took command of another army at A-rim'i-num. Thus the consuls lay, each with his army, guarding the two principal roads which connected the Po Valley with central Italy.

261. The Battle of Lake Trasimene; Hannibal and Fabius (217 B.C.). — But Hannibal surprised them by taking an unusual route over the Apennines far to the west. In crossing the marshes north of the Ar'nus River, his troops suffered terrible hardships. For four days and three nights they waded continually through mud and water. When at length Hannibal reached dry ground in Etruria and found Flaminius still guarding Arretium, he passed the enemy without noticing him, and took the highway for Rome, plundering as he went. Flaminius could but follow; for he felt he must gain a victory to bring success to his political party in its conflict with the senate. Unwarily he fell into a trap at Lake Tras'i-mene, where he was killed and his

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army annihilated. When news of this calamity reached Rome, and the praetor announced to the people, "We have been beaten in a great battle," the Romans, long unused to misfortune, gave way to unmanly grief and alarm. With the advice of the senate, however, they elected Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator; for the surviving consul was too far away to make the appointment, according to custom.

Instead of attacking Rome, Hannibal crossed the peninsula to the Adriatic coast and moved gradually southward, gathering vast booty from the country through which he passed. *Fabius would not risk a battle*, but dogged the footsteps of the invader, cut off foraging parties, and trained his own men to face the enemy in light engagements. As this policy did not prevent the Carthaginians from marching and plundering wherever they pleased, it proved extremely unpopular and brought the severest criticism upon the dictator. Yet his persistence in avoiding battle saved Rome for the year from another defeat.

262. The Battle of Cannae (216 B.C.). — Unusual efforts were made to levy and train troops for the following summer. The new consuls, Ae-mil'i-us and Var'ro,[1] led a force of more than eighty thousand men, including allies, against Hannibal. This was the largest single army Rome had ever put into the field, while the force of the enemy numbered about fifty thousand. The two armies met at Can'-nae on the Au'fi-dus River in Apulia. Varro, who held chief command on the day of battle, massed his maniples[2] in a heavy line, in the hope of overcoming by sheer weight. While the superior cavalry of the enemy routed his wings, his centre, a solid phalanx, drove in the opposing Iberians and Celts, but then found itself assailed on all sides, — Gauls and Iberians in front, with a violent wind driving clouds of dust in the face, veteran Libyans on both flanks, and in the rear a tempest of cavalry. Too crowded to keep rank or even to use their weapons, the Romans fell like sheep under the knives of butchers. Seven-eighths of their army, including Aemilius, eighty

[1] § 277. [2] § 232.

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senators, and many other eminent men, perished. Varro, who survived, collected the remnants of the army, amounting to scarcely ten thousand men.

News of this defeat brought intense agony to Rome. Every household mourned its dead, while all feared for the city and for their own lives. But *the senate met the crisis in a manly spirit.* It encouraged the people, posted guards about the city, and did everything possible to save the state.

On the evening after the battle Ma-har'bal, leader of the Punic horsemen, said to his commander, "Send me in advance with the cavalry, follow with the army, and five days hence we shall dine in Rome!" Hannibal knew, however, that with his present force he could take Rome neither by storm nor by siege; but through the revolt of the allies he hoped to cause the ruin of the capital.

263. Changed Character of the War. — With the battle of Cannae the character of the war changed. Nearly all the allies of Rome in southern Italy, including the great cities of Capua and Tarentum, revolted. On the death of Hieron,[1] king of Syracuse, Sicily also forsook Rome. Philip V,[2] king of Macedon, who watched jealously the interference of the senate in the Greek peninsula, allied himself with the victorious Carthaginian. Though none of these allies gave material help, Hannibal felt himself bound to protect his Italian friends. The policy of defence to which he was thus forced gradually wasted his army, robbed him of the prestige of success, and in the end caused his failure. The greatest of all obstacles in his way were the fortified Latin colonies distributed over Italy, which continued faithful to Rome. These strongholds he was unable to take. The Romans, on the other side, following the policy of Fabius, ventured no more pitched battles with Hannibal in Italy.

But they made great efforts to regain Sicily. After a long siege Marcellus took Syracuse. His soldiers plundered it and killed many of the people, including Ar-chi-me'des, a famous mathematician

[1] § 255. [2] §§ 202, 266.

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whose engines had been used in the defence of the city. Next the Romans surrounded Capua with three armies. In the hope of diverting a part of this force, so as to relieve the besieged allies, Hannibal suddenly marched upon Rome and pitched his camp three miles from the city. The inhabitants imagined that their terrible enemy had destroyed the armies at Capua and would soon hold the citadel of Rome. Fortunately new recruits poured in from the country to man the walls. As Rome defended herself without relaxing the siege of Capua, Hannibal gave up hope of saving this city. When it fell, the Romans scourged and beheaded the senators, and dispersed the people among the Latin colonies or sold them into slavery, — a warning to all who meditated revolt. Tarentum was afterward taken and suffered a similar punishment.



"MARCELLUS"

264. The Scipios in Spain; the Battle of the Metaurus (207 B.C.). — Meantime important events were happening in Spain. For years Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal who had been left in command of that country, proved inferior to the Romans under the brothers Publius and Gnae'us Scipio. At length, however, with reënforcements from Carthage, he overwhelmed and destroyed the separate

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armies of these two generals, who died bravely with their men. The victor was in a fair way to win all Spain back to Carthage when the Romans sent thither as proconsul[1] Publius Scipio, son of the deceased general of the same name. The new commander, though still in his twenties, showed real genius for war. Soon after his arrival he surprised and captured New Carthage, the chief city and arsenal of the enemy in Spain. Hasdrubal, however, skilfully eluded him, and with a large army and abundant treasures set out by land for Italy to reënforce his brother.

The crisis of the war came in 207 B.C., when Hasdrubal, descending from the Alps and drawing in his train a host of Gauls and Ligurians, marched southward to meet Hannibal. If the two great enemies of Rome should unite, she could no longer hope for victory; for her country was desolate from end to end; her faithful colonies, exhausted by war, were beginning to refuse aid; her last armies were in the field. Fortunately for her the messengers who bore to Hannibal the news of his brother's coming were taken by the consul Gaius Claudius Nero, commander of the army in southern Italy, opposed to Hannibal. Stealthily hurrying to the north, Claudius united his army with that of his colleague, Marcus Liv'i-us Sal-i-na'tor; and the two consuls surprised and destroyed Hasdrubal with his army on the Me-tau'rus River. As Claudius returned southward he carried with him the head of the defeated Carthaginian, which he directed to be thrown into the camp of Hannibal, — to inform him of his misfortune. In the ghastly features of his brother, Hannibal read his own fate and the doom of his city.

After this battle, while Hannibal still maintained himself in southern Italy, Publius Scipio reconquered Spain. The story of this campaign abounds in the romantic adventures and the chivalrous acts of the commander, — the first Roman whom we may admire both for the kindness and generosity of his character and for the brilliancy of his mind.

[1] An officer who held the rank and power of a consul outside of Rome. The first proconsul was appointed in 326 B.C.

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265. The Battle of Zama (202 B.C.); the End of the War (201 B.C.). — Master of Spain, he returned to Rome, whence as consul he invaded Africa and threatened Carthage. Hannibal quitted Italy in obedience to his country's call; and adding raw recruits to his small veteran force, he met Scipio at some distance from Za'ma, a town nearly south of Carthage. Here was fought the last battle of the long war. By a happy inspiration, Scipio placed the maniples of the second and third divisions behind those of the first, thus forming columns with open lanes between, through which the enemy's elephants could make their way without disturbing the ranks.[1] For the first time Hannibal suffered defeat in a pitched battle, — a defeat which made further resistance hopeless.

By the terms of *treaty* which followed, Carthage agreed to surrender Spain, and to pay Rome two hundred talents[2] of silver a year for fifty years; to give up all her elephants and all her war-ships except ten triremes; to wage no war outside of Libya, and in Libya none without the consent of Rome. With sorrow the Queen of the Waters saw her great fleet sink in flames. Even more galling was the clause of the treaty which forbade her waging war in Libya; for it left her helpless against Rome's ally, Mas-i-nis'sa, king of Numidia, who plundered Carthaginian territory to the extent of his pleasure. Such was Rome's policy toward a fallen enemy.

266. The First and Second Macedonian Wars (215–205, 200–196 B.C.). — After the Second Punic War the Romans began to interfere seriously in the affairs of Greece.

They had already carried on two short wars with the Il-lyr'i-an pirates, in the course of which they had taken a few Greek cities into their alliance. It was these dealings with Greece which induced Philip V of Macedon[3] to cast his lot with Hannibal after the battle of Cannae. This first conflict with Macedon (215–205 B.C.) brought Rome into alliance with Aetolia, Athens, and other important states of Greece.

[1] § 232. [2] § 119, n. 2. [3] § 263.

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No sooner was the Roman senate free from the struggle with Carthage than it forced upon the people a *second war with Philip* in behalf of the allies whom he was assailing. The consul Flam-i-ni'-nus led against him a strong army of twenty-five thousand men. Though Philip had about the same number, most of his troops were boys. The whole civilized world was interested in the conflict between the legion and the phalanx. On level ground the phalanx, a massive body, was unconquerable, but among the hills it could be easily broken. The legion, on the contrary, was light and flexible, developed especially with a view to fighting the mountaineers of central Italy. At Cyn-os-ceph'a-lae ("Dogs' Heads"), a low range of hills in Thessaly, the armies met, and after a sharp struggle the legion was victorious (197 B.C.). The success of Rome was due to her military organization, to the poor quality of the opposing troops, and above all, to the superior Aetolian cavalry in her service.

The king was compelled to cede his various Greek possessions to the victor. But as the Roman commons disliked to extend their empire to the East, the senate decided to be generous. Accordingly at the Isthmian festival of the following spring, by the direction of Flamininus and his colleagues, who were peace commissioners, a herald proclaimed to the assembly *the freedom of all the Greeks* who had been ruled by Philip. "After the games were over, in the extravagance of their joy, they nearly killed Flamininus by the exhibition of their gratitude. Some wanted to look him in the face and call him their preserver; others were eager to touch his hand. Most threw garlands and fillets upon him; and among them they nearly crushed him to death."[1] Though Flamininus wished well for Greece, his gift of freedom was a fair delusion. The Greeks still had many noble qualities; but they could not keep peace among themselves — the only guaranty of their freedom. As their protector and peacemaker, Rome could hardly avoid depriving them of their liberty.

267. The Asiatic War (192–189 B.C.). — The great power of the

[1] Polybius xviii. 46.

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East at this time was the empire of the Seleucidae,[1] now ruled by An-ti'o-chus III. It included nearly all that part of the former Persian empire which lay in Asia and Asia Minor. To prevent Rome from gaining further influence in the East, Antiochus invaded Greece, and in his turn played the game of freeing that country. He had been encouraged to war by Hannibal, whom the Roman senate had forced into exile, and who was now at the court of the Seleucid king. Jealousy and littleness of mind prevented Antiochus from intrusting the command of the army to Hannibal. Driven from Europe, the king suffered an overwhelming defeat at *Mag-ne'sia*, in Asia Minor, at the hands of Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus (190 B.C.). As a result of this unsuccessful war, he gave up all his possessions west of Mount Taurus. Rome left the states of Asia Minor independent under her protectorate. Hannibal fled to Bi-thyn'ia, where he died by poison to escape the Romans. Antiochus was stoned to death by his own people; and his great empire rapidly dwindled to the petty kingdom of Syria.[2]

268. The Condition of Greece; the Third Macedonian War (171-167 B.C.). — Meantime the states of Greece constantly accused one another before the Roman senate, and constantly invited that body to settle their quarrels. Accordingly we find one committee of the senate after another coming to Greece to arbitrate disputes and to look after the interests of the republic. Their respect for Greek culture, however, did not prevent them from fostering disunion, — from undermining the Achaean League.[3] To rid themselves of a troublesome Hellenic patriot, these "lovers of Greece" sometimes resorted even to assassination.

Such was the state of affairs when Philip died and was succeeded by his son *Per'seus*. More amiable, though less able, than his father, he cherished the noble ambition of championing Hellas against barbarian Rome. His clever diplomacy and the desire of the Greeks for independence were rapidly bringing them into touch

[1] § 199. [2] § 294. [3] § 201.

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with Macedon, when Rome, to prevent this dreaded union, declared war against Perseus (171 B.C.).

The principal commander on the Roman side was Lucius Aemilius Pau'lus,[1] a man of rare honesty and ability. He met and conquered Perseus at *Pyd'na*, a city of Macedon (168 B.C.). "Aemilius had never seen a phalanx till he saw it in the army of Perseus on this occasion; and he often admitted to his friends at Rome afterward that he had never beheld anything more alarming and terrible; and yet he, as often as any man, had been not only a spectator but an actor in many battles."[2] The king escaped, but was taken later, and after following, with his young children, in the triumphal procession of the conqueror, he died in prison, either by his own hand or by the cruelty of the jailer. At the close of the war the Romans imposed an annual tribute on the Illyrians for having aided Perseus.[3] Macedon they divided into four republics, which they prohibited from all intercourse with one another. Thus a great state perished. The cities yielded to the victor shiploads of furniture, precious metals, and works of art. In addition, the troops plundered Epeirus for siding with the king; they carried thence vast spoil and a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, who were sold into slavery. Nevertheless they grumbled at their commander for allowing them so little.

269. The End of Greek Freedom (146 B.C.). — For Greece there was to be no more freedom. Those who sympathized with Perseus in the war were sent to Rome for trial. Among them were a thou-

[1] Son of Aemilius, who died at Cannæ (§ 262).

[2] Polybius xxix. 17.

[3] Trouble with the Illyrians began long before. In 229–228 B.C. Rome punished them for piracy, and compelled them to keep their hands off Corcyra and Epidamnus. Rome's treaties with these two Hellenic states were her first diplomatic dealings with Greece. In 219 B.C. she waged a second war with the Illyrians in behalf of her Greek allies, who were already increasing in number. But it was not till this piratical nation had cast its lot with Perseus that the Romans determined to annex it, and even then (167 B.C.) they did not organize it as a province; § 272, n. 1.

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sand men from the Achaean League alone, including Po-lyb'i-us, the statesman and historian. Far from being given a trial, however, they were detained sixteen years among the towns of Etruria. The influence of Polybius procured the release of the three hundred who then remained.

When these exiles returned home they excited their whole nation against the city which had treated them so unjustly. At the same time the Greeks were again quarrelling among themselves, and a rebellion was breaking out in Macedon. These circumstances led the senate again to interfere. Me-tel'lus united the Macedonian republics in the province of *Mac-e-do'ni-a*. Mum'mi-us defeated the Achaean army. He then entered *Corinth*, the chief offender, killed most of the men he found, and enslaved the women and children. After plundering the city, he burned it to the ground. At last the Greeks realized that though they retained the form of liberty, the Roman senate was their master. It ruled them mainly through the governor of Macedonia. Politically they were dead; their dissensions had ruined them. If the Romans should govern them well, they would thereby justify the conquest.

270. The Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.). — In the same year the Romans destroyed Carthage. For the beginning of the trouble which led to this event we must go back to the close of the Second Punic War. The treaty with Hannibal had forbidden Carthage, without the consent of Rome, to defend herself against attack. Taking advantage of this condition, Masinissa,[1] king of Numidia, an ally of Rome, continually plundered the territory of Carthage and seized some of her best lands. In answer to her complaints Rome sent out various commissioners, who in every case were instructed to give secret encouragement to the plunderer. As a member of such a commission, Cato, a narrow-minded statesman, of whom we shall hear more, brought home a startling report of the wealth and prosperity of Carthage. In his opinion the city of Hannibal still menaced

[1] § 265.

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Rome. Indeed he is said to have ended every speech in the senate, whatever the subject, with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed!" He easily convinced the capitalists, who wished for a monopoly of the world's commerce, and who formed a majority of the senate. Accordingly the consuls sailed for U'ti-ca with an immense army. To avoid war the Carthaginians were ready for every concession. First they handed over three hundred children as hostages. The mothers, who gave them up, "clung to the little ones with frantic



STORMING A CITY

cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away."[1] "If you sincerely desire peace," said the consuls on their arrival at Utica, "why do you need arms? Surrender them!" After vain protests the people gave up their armor. "We congratulate you on your promptness," the consuls continued; "now yield Carthage to us and settle wherever you like within your own land, ten miles from the sea; for we are resolved to destroy your city."

[1] Appian, *Foreign Wars*, viii. 77.

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At first the people were overcome with grief; but finally they resolved to defend their city to the last drop of blood. As they had to make new weapons, they converted even the temples into workshops, and the women gave their hair for bowstrings. They gallantly repulsed the attacks of the consuls, and for three years defended themselves like heroes. At last Scipio Ae-mil-i-a'nus[1] forced a passage through the walls. His soldiers massacred the inhabitants, then plundered and burned the city. After they had destroyed this innocent people, the authorities of Rome cursed the ground on which the city stood, that it might never be rebuilt. The territory it ruled they made into the province of Africa.

271. Ligurian, Gallic, and Spanish Wars. — The story of the conquest of Greece and Carthage, just told, illustrates the character of Roman warfare during the half-century which followed the peace with Hannibal. In the same period, wars with the Ligurians and the rebellious Celts of northern Italy ended in the thorough conquest of Cis-al'pine[2] Gaul. Spain, subdued in the Second Punic War, was made into two provinces. But the people of this country so loved liberty and were so obstinate that the Romans had to reconquer them several times. While doing so, they showed themselves false and cruel: they violated treaties, and massacred troops who had surrendered under agreement. The siege of Nu-man'ti-a, a rebellious town of Spain, was a repetition of the siege of Carthage, — it revealed the immorality of the common soldiers, the baseness of the generals, and still worse, the alarming degradation of the senate. Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, had the honor of stamping out this rebellion (133 B.C.).

272. Summary. — In these conquests the chief motive of the citizen-soldiers was a desire for lands and booty; the object of the

[1] Son of Aemilius Paulus (§ 268), but adopted into the family of the Scipios.

[2] The prefix *cis-* means "on this side of." Naturally the Romans thought of Gaul south of the Alps as Cisalpine, whereas the country of the Gauls on the opposite side of the Alps they termed Transalpine.

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nobles was power and wealth. The senate, which guided Rome's foreign policy, was not only clever but in some degree just and liberal. It rewarded faithful friends, however feeble they might be. At the same time it bestowed favors upon the strong, whether deserving or not, while it wreaked merciless vengeance upon those who were at once erring and weak. Often by dividing the strong and by sowing quarrels, it broke the power of enemies and prepared the way to easy victory.

The Romans now ruled most of the territory along the Mediterranean between Mount Taurus and the Pillars of Hercules. They had seven, or possibly nine, provinces[1] under governors sent from the capital, many subject states, and many allies in various stages of dependency. Less than a century and a half had elapsed since Rome, as the head of Italy, entered on her career of foreign conquest; outside of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, she had acquired all this power in a lifetime. Within another century and a half, she will round out her empire so as to include all the countries which surround the Mediterranean. But these two cycles of conquest bring with them momentous changes in the character of her government and in the condition of her citizens.

Topics for Reading

I. Hamilcar. — Smith, *Rome and Carthage*, pp. 84–108; Morris, *Hannibal*, pp. 69–98.

II. Hannibal's March from Spain to Italy. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. v; Smith, *Rome and Carthage*, pp. 114–126; Morris, *Hannibal*, pp. 99–116.

III. Scipio Aemilianus (the destroyer of Carthage), his Character and Achievements. — See Indices of the various histories of Rome; also the Index of Polybius; cf. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. v.

[1] Cisalpine Gaul, conquered in 191, may not have been organized as a province before 81 B.C. Illyricum, on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, was subdued in 167 B.C., and became a province at some unknown time afterward. The province of Asia — in western Asia Minor — was formed in 133 B.C. The other provinces, already mentioned in the text, were Sicily and Sardinia with Corsica (227 B.C.), the two Spains (197 B.C.), and Africa and Macedonia (146 B.C.); §§ 257, 258, 271.

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A STREET IN POMPEII
(Present appearance)

CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF PLUTOCRACY (264–133 B.C.)

SECOND PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — INTERNAL HISTORY

273. The Expansion of Rome; the Province. — As long as a city-state, like Rome, remained so small that all the citizens could attend the assembly and take part in public affairs, the government worked well. But when the state outgrew these limits, the citizens who were near at hand managed the government in their own interest to the injury of those who were farther away. For this reason the more territory Rome acquired, the more unjust and oppressive became her government.

Her early supremacy in Italy was on the whole fair and just; the Italians were her allies, and while she insisted on having their support in her wars, she permitted most of the communities to manage their own local affairs.

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But when the Romans acquired their first territory outside of Italy, they made it into a province.[1] Some years after the First Punic War the senate made a province of Sicily and another of Sardinia and Corsica. Later it added Hither and Farther Spain, Macedonia, Africa, and Asia, thus building up a great *empire*.[2] After creating four praetors as governors of provinces, in addition to the two who attended to jurisdiction at home,[3] it filled the remaining governorships with proconsuls and propraetors.[4] During his year of command the governor had absolute authority. He was at once general, judge, and chief executive, and through his quaestor[5] he controlled the finances of his province. His subjects paid an annual tribute, but had not the right to enter the army, for military service would have given them not only an independent spirit but also a means of regaining their freedom.



A PROCONSUL
(National Museum, Naples; from Pompeii)

274. The Character of Roman Rule. — Some advantages came to

[1] § 257. [2] § 272, n. 1. [3] § 250, n. 3.

[4] A proconsul or propraetor was an officer who held the power of a consul or praetor in some special command outside of Rome. As a rule consuls and praetors, at the close of their terms, became proconsuls and propraetors; § 264, n. 1.

[5] § 248.

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the provinces from Roman rule. Usually they enjoyed peace. The cities of a province retained their own laws and self-government in local affairs. The less civilized subjects, too, profited greatly by adopting the customs and ideas of their masters.

In spite of these advantages *their condition* was anything but happy. With rare exceptions Rome forbade commercial intercourse among the cities of a province, and even restricted trade between one province and another. The object of the senate in imposing these restrictions was to place the commerce and industry of the empire in the hands of the Romans themselves. By impoverishing all but the favored few, this policy gradually sapped the life-blood of the wretched subjects. In place of native merchants a horde of greedy money-lenders, speculators, and traders poured from the capital over all the provinces; and while their citizenship[1] at Rome protected them, they unjustly acquired most of the property in the subject countries and reduced the people to debt and misery. Driving the peasants from their farms, these speculators built up vast estates worked by slaves. The system, too, which Rome followed of letting out the collection of taxes to contractors, was full of evil. The knights,[2] whose wealth enabled them to take these contracts, compelled the provincials to pay many times their due.

Rarely did a *governor* try to check these wrongs. As a rule he was himself cruel and oppressive. Not content with the wealth of his subjects, a rapacious governor seized their works of art, including the statues of the gods they worshipped, and even sold many freemen into slavery. The rapid change of officers increased the evil. In his short term the governor expected to make three fortunes: the first, to pay the debts he had contracted in bribing his way to power; a second, to satisfy his judges in case of prosecution on his return to Rome; and a third, to enable him to live in luxury for the remainder

[1] Roman citizens in the provinces enjoyed many privileges and rights not possessed by the provincials, and were not subject to the authority of the local courts.

[2] §§ 232, 276.

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of his days. Though a special court was established for the trial of extortion committed in the provinces, it accomplished no good; for the judges were of like mind with the culprits. Thieves and plunderers sat in judgment on thieves and plunderers; a year or two would reverse the rôle of the two parties. Thus the provincials found no protection from injustice. To them the "peace of Rome" meant slavery, decay, and death.



CERES (DEMETER)
(Goddess of Agriculture)

275. The Decline of Italy. — Italy was to experience a similar decline. As long as Rome treated the Italians justly, they were satisfied with her rule. At first they sided with her against Hannibal, but after the battle of Cannae many in the south of the peninsula deserted to him.[1] When Rome reconquered them, she treated them not as erring kinsmen but as subjects and slaves. She seized large tracts of their land; she degraded many of them from the condition of allies to that of state serfs.

Rome injured the Italians still more by *restricting their trade* with one another. The great commercial cities of Capua and Tarentum disappeared; in the streets of the once prosperous Greek towns which still remained, merchants gave place to beggars.

[1] § 263.

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The *farming class* suffered equally with the traders; for as Rome now drew her food supply from the provinces, — cheap produce of slave labor, — the Italian peasants could find no market for their grain. Those who lost their little farms through poverty or by any other means usually flocked to Rome, to swell the numbers of a worthless, dangerous mob. The system of great estates worked by slaves spread itself over Italy. The large proprietors forcibly seized the farms of their poor neighbors. Although the peasants who did their own work failed, slave labor was as profitable in Italy as in the provinces. "Thus the nobles became enormously rich, and while the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, the Italians dwindled in numbers and in strength, oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service."[1] Such was the condition of Italy at the close of the great period of foreign conquest (264–133 B.C.) treated in the preceding chapter.

Had the Italians been able to secure *representation* in the Roman senate, they might by this means have protected their property and their freedom. Such a measure was suggested, but the senate was too selfish and short-sighted to consider it. In fact the Romans were reversing their former policy of liberality toward strangers. So highly did they esteem the privileges and honors they enjoyed as an imperial people, that henceforth they refused to bestow the citizenship upon others except in the rarest cases. Exalted by conquest to the position of aristocrats, even the common people looked down upon the Italians as inferiors.

276. Roman Citizens; the Government and the Nobility. — The competition of slave labor ruined the Roman peasants as well as the Italian. In the capital, too, skilled industry and business were in the hands of wealthy persons or of corporations of knights, who relied mainly on the labor of slaves and the business cleverness of freedmen.[2] The many peasants and tradesmen who lost their honest livelihood turned to begging and robbery or became clients of the

[1] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 7. [2] § 366.

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great nobles. It is now easy to understand how it was that while in theory conquest was making the Roman citizens lords of the earth, it was really bringing most of them to misery and rendering them unfit even to govern themselves.

According to the constitution as amended by Hortensius,[1] the full citizens of Rome, plebeians and patricians,[2] were all equal, and the government was in their hands. The equality and sovereignty of the people, however, were empty forms. In fact the assembly was composed of those who lived in and near the city, as distance prevented most of the citizens from attending. Hence the city population, which was fast becoming a rabble, alone exercised the right to vote. Again, a member of an assembly could not propose a law or a candidate for office, or speak on any subject;[3] he could merely vote for or against the candidates and the measures offered by the presiding officer, who rarely failed to enforce his will upon the comitia. In other words, the magistrates controlled the assemblies. But while they enjoyed great authority in dealing with the people, or in commanding armies and governing provinces at a distance from Rome, they acknowledged the senate as their master.[4] *The senate was therefore the supreme power in the state.*

Some years before the beginning of the Punic Wars, the right to revise the list of senators was transferred from the consuls to the censors. These magistrates were obliged (1) to enroll all who had filled curule offices with honor, (2) to consider for the places still vacant the names of the less important ex-magistrates; and (3) in case these candidates did not suffice, they were permitted to use their pleasure in choosing from the whole body of respectable citizens.

The senators were not all equal; for those who had held no curule office were placed by the censors in an inferior class, and were called upon to vote though not to speak. The curule ex-magistrates, on the other hand, were grouped in higher classes according to the offices they had filled, and were at liberty not only to vote, but also to

[1] § 251. [2] § 250. [3] § 241. [4] § 241.

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debate and to suggest measures. This knot of ex-magistrates controlled the entire senate and, through it, Rome, Italy, and the provinces. It seemed just that experienced statesmen should have more authority than the assembly of plain citizens, who knew nothing of the condition of the world beyond the borders of their own little neighborhood.



AEDILE
(Giving the signal at the games)

The families to which these ex-magistrates belonged formed, in the beginning, a *nobility of merit.* But from the end of the Second Punic War we see the nobles rapidly declining in character and in ability. They became an hereditary caste, consisting of a few great houses, and rarely admitted new men to their privileged circle. They kept all the higher offices for themselves, and passed them in rotation among the members of their families.

A young noble, after service as an officer in the army, and perhaps after enriching himself as a provincial quaestor, secured election to a curule aedileship. In this position it was his duty to entertain the people with costly religious festivals and shows, chiefly at his own expense; in this way he gained their favor and their votes for the higher offices. With this legal and pious system of corruption, he had little need of resorting to open bribery. Thence he advanced to the praetorship and to the consulship. As praetor, propraetor, or

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proconsul,[1] he governed a province, where he glutted himself with spoil, and where irresponsible power made him haughty and brutal. If he won distinction in this *career of honors* the people showed their appreciation by electing him to the censorship — the crown of glory of the nobility. To complete our understanding of the nobles of this period, it is necessary to bear in mind that they were capitalists, who sought office not merely for honor, but also as a means of absorbing the riches of the world. The nobility of merit became a narrow, self-seeking plutocracy.[2]

The nobles and other wealthy men filled the eighteen centuries of *knights* in the comitia centuriata.[3] Still other men of means who might be required to furnish their own horses for service in the cavalry were also called knights. The class so named, originally including the senators, were the capitalists, who took government contracts for collecting taxes and for building public works, and who had in hand most of the commerce and industry of the Roman world.

277. Gaius Flaminius. — The selfish policy of the senate provoked opposition. Against its wishes Gaius Flaminius, tribune of the plebs in 232 B.C., carried through the assembly a law for dividing the public lands in Pi-ce'num among the citizens. A few years later when war broke out with the Gauls of the Po Valley, the people elected him consul, that he might win more lands for them. He extended the rule of Rome to the Alps, and as censor built a road, named after him the Flaminian Way, from the capital to Ariminum, to give easy access to the new territory. The people were colonizing this country when the invasion of Hannibal interrupted their work. Naturally their thoughts turned once more to Flaminius, their champion. Elected consul for 217 B.C., he took command against the invader, but was defeated and killed at Trasimene.[4] Rome lost in him an

[1] § 273, n. 4.
[2] Government by the wealthy, or the ruling class in such a state.
[3] § 241. [4] § 261.

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able statesman and a great builder; and though the aristocrats called him a demagogue, his character and motives were nobler than theirs. Varro, the next champion of the people, commanded at Cannae, where he disgraced his party by defeat.[1] Opposition to the senate, accordingly, ceased; and for the remainder of the period[2] the nobles were to govern in their own way.

278. Scipio Africanus. — Scipio Africanus was of a very different stamp. The conquest of Spain and the victory at Zama made him the greatest man in Rome. For fifteen years he was foreman of the senate; he was consul twice, and censor. It was his firm conviction that Rome should not organize the conquered countries into provinces, but should hold them as dependent allies; for he saw that the need of garrisoning the provinces would soon exhaust the strength of Italy. In keeping with this principle he planted in Italy several colonies whose military strength was to be reserved for the defence of the peninsula. Thus the chief of the nobles carried on the colonial policy of Flaminius.



"PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS"
(National Museum, Naples)

But he had many enemies. Accustomed to absolute command in the field, at Rome he acted the king. He used his immense influence for the political advancement of his family, and trampled upon the law to protect a brother from trial for embezzlement. Finally the tribunes of the plebs prosecuted him on the ground that he had

[1] § 262. [2] Second period of the republic, 264–133 B.C.

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received bribes, and that he had been extravagant and tyrannous. Without replying to the charges, he is said to have spoken as follows: "Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, with good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put for this day to wrangling and litigation, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter, supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and Citadel; and will give them thanks for having, on this day and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and with the ability to perform extraordinary services to the state. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself."[1] The whole assembly followed him with enthusiasm. But though he was a man of culture, fond of literature and of luxury, his talents were chiefly military. Unable to cope with his political enemies, he retired into the country to private life.

279. Marcus Porcius Cato. — Marcus Porcius Cato, his chief antagonist, was narrow, unsympathetic, and close-fisted, but strictly moral — a model of the older Roman virtue. He was a peasant by birth, and drew the inspiration of his life from the memories of Manius Curius Dentatus,[2] the great peasant-statesman of the good old time, whose modest cottage stood near his father's farm. Accordingly "he worked with his slaves, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer nothing but his tunic; and he used to sit at meals with them, eating the same loaf and drinking the same wine."[3]

By the patronage of a rich neighbor, but more by ability and honesty, this thrifty peasant rose to the highest offices of the state. "When he was *governor of Sardinia*, where former rulers had been in the habit of charging their tents, bedding, and wearing apparel to

[1] Livy xxxviii. 51. [2] § 252. [3] Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 3.

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the province, and likewise making it pay large sums for their entertainment and that of their friends, he introduced an unheard-of system of economy. He charged nothing to the province, and visited the various cities without a carriage, on foot and alone, attended by one public servant, who carried his robe of state and the vessel for making libations at a sacrifice. With all this he showed himself so affable and simple to those under his rule, so severe and inexorable in the administration of justice, and so vigilant and careful in seeing that his orders were executed, that the government of Rome was never more feared or more loved in Sardinia than when he ruled that island."[1]



SACRIFICING A PIG
(National Museum, Naples)

In his *home policy* he assailed with untiring energy the luxury, the refinement, and the culture represented by the Scipios; it was chiefly his influence which overthrew this powerful family. The nobles feared and hated the red-haired, gray-eyed, savage-tusked "new man," who rebuked their follies and their sins. Chosen censor in spite of their opposition, he expelled from the senate a number of disreputable members, taxed luxuries unmercifully, administered the public works and let out the public contracts without favoritism. The people, therefore, placed his statue in the temple of Health, with this inscrip-

[1] Plutarch, *M. Cato*, 6.

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tion, "This statue was erected to Cato because, when censor, finding the state of Rome corrupt and degenerate, he, by introducing wise regulations and virtuous discipline, restored it." The praise is too great. Cato could not understand how corrupt his fellow-citizens were becoming; much less did he find a remedy for the evil.

280. Culture, Religion, and Morals. — In this period the Romans began to compose poetry, history, and oratory.[1] Their useful public works, as sewers, bridges, roads, and aqueducts, were the best in the world. They produced little sculpture and painting, but preferred to import shiploads of art as plunder from the cities of Sicily and Greece. Without appreciation of real beauty, the nobles took pleasure in adorning their houses and villas with stolen statues.



A BACCHANTE
(National Museum, Naples; a fresco from Pompeii)

Along with foreign art came the ideas, the *religion*, and the morals of strangers. They began to worship the Greek Di-o-ny'sus, or Bac'-chus, god of the vine and of life, including future life, and the Phrygian Cyb'e-le, Mother of the Gods, whom noisy processions honored in the streets with drums, trumpets, and cymbals, with war-dances and bloody tumults. In this way many sober men and women became fanatics.

[1] We have a few of the comedies of Plautus and Terence, who lived in this period, and mere fragments of the remaining Roman literature. Polybius, a Greek statesman of the age, wrote an able history of the expansion of the Roman power. Considerable parts of his work have come down to us, and are very valuable.

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Morals, already declining, were corrupted by Eastern influence; for the unimaginative Roman, who saw little beauty in Greek mythology and art, welcomed the baser pleasures of an advanced civilization. At the same time Greek scepticism[1] unsettled his religious faith, the foundation of his moral conduct. It is not to be assumed that all the Romans were now vicious. The peasant who escaped economic ruin was still sound at heart; and even the circle of aristocrats produced the pure-minded Scipio Aemilianus and the noble, self-sacrificing spirit of the two Grac'chi, who were to be the leaders of the coming age of revolution. But in the city corruption was almost universal. Crowds of beggar clients attended the noble, and voted for him in return for the loaves he doled out to them, or for the shows of buffoons, beasts, and gladiators with which he amused them from time to time. The rending of flesh and the flow of blood gave this rabble its keenest delight. As to the higher ranks, the greed of the capitalist and the insolence of the noble, already described, were surpassed only by the impurity of their lives, while among all classes in the state and empire mutual fear and hatred lurked. This condition of affairs called loudly for reform.

Topics for Reading

I. A Roman Province. — How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, pp. 310–313; bbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 88–91; Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, ta. viii; Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, chs. i, ii.

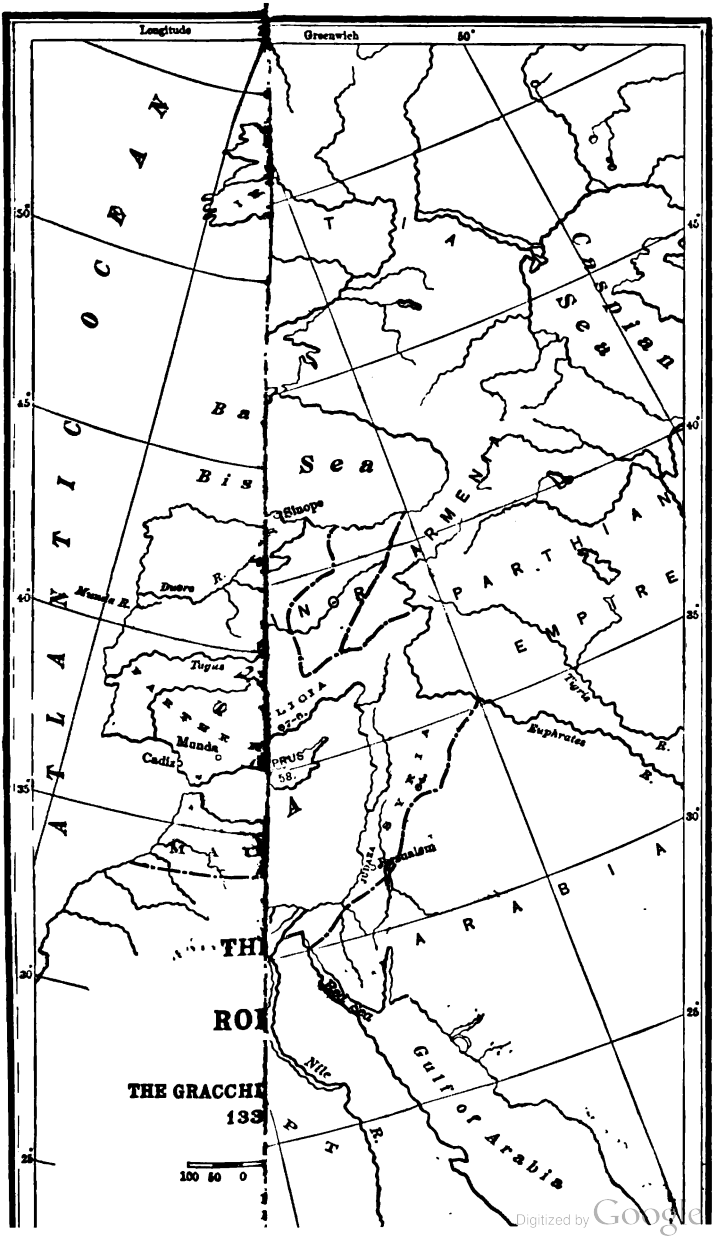
II. The Government of Rome in the Time of the Punic Wars. — Tighe, *Development of the Roman Constitution* (primer), ch. vii; How and Leigh, chs. xxviii, xxix; Abbott, pp. 150–265, and Greenidge, pp. 152–288 (not restricted to the time of the Punic Wars but generally applying to that period).

III. Roman Character. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vi; Duruy, *History of Rome*, ii. pp. 258–338.

IV. Marcus Porcius Cato. — Plutarch, *M. Porcius Cato*; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vi; see Indices of the various histories of Rome.

[1] § 156.

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ITALIAN OXEN

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION — (I) THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SULLA (133–79 B.C.)

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — FIRST EPOCH

281. The Gracchi. — The brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, though plebeian, belonged to the highest nobility.[1] Their father had filled all the great offices; Cornelia, the mother, was daughter of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal. Their education as well as their birth and connections fitted them for a splendid career. The gifted mother taught them eloquence; Greek tutors instructed them in the philosophy and the political ideas of Hellas. Both married into noble families. When as young men they served in military and

[1] § 250.

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provincial offices, the allies, the dependents, and even the enemies of Rome respected and loved them for the kindness of their forefathers and for their own high character; for they had inherited a generous sympathy with the peasants, the provincials, and even the slaves.



YOUTH READING AT A BOOKCASE
(Relief on a sarcophagus)

282. The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.). — Tiberius, who was nine years older than his brother, saw how miserable was the condition of the lower classes. Resolving to do all he could for their improvement, he became a tribune of the plebs for the year 133 B.C. With the approval of the consul Mu'ci-us Scaev'o-la, the most eminent jurist of the age, he proposed to reënact the Agrarian law of Licinius and Sextius[1] as follows: —

(1) No one shall have the use of more than five hundred jugera of the public land.

(2) No one shall pasture more than a hundred cattle or five hundred sheep on the public land.

He added as a third clause a law passed after the time of Licinius: —

(3) Of the laborers on any farm, a certain proportion shall be freemen.

To these clauses he joined the following: —

(4) The sons — not exceeding two — of present occupiers may each hold two hundred and fifty jugera of public land.

(5) A committee of three, appointed by the tribes,[2] shall divide the surplus among the needy in lots of thirty jugera each.

[1] § 249. [2] § 251.

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His plan was to rescue as many families as possible from idleness and poverty, and to fill the country with thrifty peasants in place of slaves. By giving the poor an opportunity to earn a living, he hoped to make them honest, useful citizens. But the rich, who for generations had bought, sold, and bequeathed the public land, like private property, declared his bill a scheme of robbery. When accordingly he brought it before the assembly, they induced Octavius, a tribune, to veto it, and thus they prevented it from passing.

With the advice of Tiberius the assembly deposed the obstinate tribune. (*As this step was unconstitutional, it began a revolution, which was to last a hundred years. The aim of the revolution was to substitute the assembly for the senate, democracy for aristocracy; it was to end in the establishment of the imperial government.*)

After the deposition of Octavius, the agrarian measure passed without opposition. It was so well carried out that after four years the census roll showed an increase of nearly eighty thousand citizens fit for military service. To stop the decline of the population and to add so many useful citizens, was the work of a great patriot and statesman.

283. The Death of Tiberius Gracchus (133 B.C.); the Democratic Outlook. — But Tiberius offered himself for reëlection to the tribunate, — another unconstitutional step. On election day his peasant supporters were busy with their harvests; and when the voting began, a crowd of senators and other opponents of the reformer dispersed the assembly. Two of the tribunes, turning traitor, killed Tiberius with clubs. Three hundred of his followers were murdered along with him, and their bodies were thrown into the Tiber. Thus the senate resorted to mob violence, by which it encouraged lawless conduct. Some time afterward Scipio Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage, put a stop to the distributions of land, and brought reform to a standstill.

Though depressed for a time, the democratic leaders soon regained courage. One of them proposed to give the Italians the citizenship

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in order to have them as supporters of the land law. This offer the Italians would gladly have accepted, had not the senate put a stop to the measure. Another leader passed a law permitting the people to reëlect a tribune in case of a lack of candidates. More important still, Gaius Gracchus was coming to the front. When the people heard him defending a friend in the law court, they were wild with delight; for they saw that other orators were mere children compared with him, and they felt that his magnificent talents were to be used in their behalf. For a time he avoided politics, but his fate called him to finish a brother's work; he dreamed that Tiberius appeared to him one night and said: "Why hesitate, Gaius? It is your destiny, as mine, to live and die for the people."



AN OLD FISHERMAN
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

284. Gaius Gracchus Tribune (123, 122 B.C.). — He was candidate for the tribuneship for the year 123 B.C. Though the nobles opposed him, all Italy gathered to his support; on election day the people overflowed the Campus Martius and shouted their wishes from the house-tops. When his year of office had expired, they elected him to a second term.

As his brother had failed through reliance on the peasants, who could rarely leave their work for politics, one of his first objects was to secure a faithful body of supporters such as might always be on hand. For this purpose he passed a law providing for the monthly distribution of public grain among the citizens at half the market

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price. In doing this he introduced no new principle; for the senate had often supplied the populace with cheap or free grain, and each noble supported a throng of clients. He merely detached the people from their several patrons and enlisted them in the support of his reforms. Thus he organized the army of the revolution, which even the strongest emperors could not disband. His system wrought mischief in draining the treasury and in encouraging idleness; the completion of his great reforms, however, would probably have corrected the evil.

Gaius had thought out a complete *plan of reform*. For the government, he would always have one of the tribunes an able man, like himself, with a power limited only by the will of the people.[1] This tribune should control the other magistrates and the senate itself. For the economic improvement of the empire, Gaius would plant manufacturing as well as farming colonies in Italy and the provinces, to restore to them the prosperity which the nobles had destroyed. He would give the full citizenship to the Latins and at least the suffrage to the Italian allies.

His great mistake was in supposing that the city mob had the virtue necessary for the support of his reforms. Angered by his proposal to give the citizenship to the Italians, it turned against him. When the senate tried to prevent him from planting a colony at Carthage, both parties resorted to violence. The consul O-pim'i-us, armed by the senate with absolute power,[2] overthrew the Gracchan party, and killed Gaius with three thousand of his supporters.

In setting aside the authority of the senate, and in accustoming the people to the rule of one man, Tiberius and Gaius had unintention-

[1] Compare the office of general at Athens under Pericles; § 131.

[2] In the Second Punic War the dictatorship had fallen into disuse, to be revived some time after the Gracchi by Sulla. Meanwhile the senate found a new way of proclaiming martial law; by passing the resolution, "Let the consuls see that the state suffers no harm," it conferred upon the chief magistrates a power equal to that of dictator. Opimius was the first to receive this absolute authority from the senate; Cicero also held it in the conspiracy of Catiline; § 295.

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ally begun a movement in the direction of monarchy. "The people, though humbled and depressed for a time, soon showed how deeply they felt the loss of the Gracchi. For they had statues of the two brothers made and set up in public places, and the spots on which they fell were declared sacred ground, to which the people brought all the first fruits of the seasons, and offered sacrifices there and worshipped just as at the temples of the gods."[1] They were right in enshrining the sons of Cornelia as the noblest characters the history of their country had brought to light.

285. Gaius Marius; the Jugurthine War (112–106 B.C.).— For the happiness and safety of the empire it was necessary that the corrupt nobility should be overthrown and a juster, abler government set up in its place. Although Gaius Gracchus saw clearly what should be done, no political party would support his reforms. The work of establishing in the army a solid foundation for the new government remained to his successor, Gaius Ma'ri-us.

Born of poor parents among the hills of Latium, Marius learned not only to work hard, but to be sober and obedient. At an early age he entered the army. As a military officer, tribune of the plebs, and afterward propraetor of Farther Spain, he showed himself honest and able. On his return from Spain he married Julia, of the illustrious house of the Caesars; and when, in 109 B.C., the consul Metellus went to Africa to war against the Numidians, he took Marius with him as lieutenant.

Ju-gur'tha, grandson of Masinissa,[2] after killing the rightful heirs, had himself usurped the throne of Numidia. Though the senate intervened, he bought off its embassies one after another. When Rome made war upon him, he bribed the first commander to withdraw from Africa; and by corrupting the officers of the second, he compelled the surrender of the army and sent it under the yoke. Such was the state of affairs when Metellus, a man of energy and of excellent character, the best noble of his time, took command. He

[1] Plutarch, *G. Gracchus*, 18.

[2] § 270.

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reduced the army to discipline and defeated Jugurtha; after which Marius, elected consul, superseded his former commander and ended the war. Lucius Cor-ne'li-us Sul'la, a young aristocrat who was quaestor under Marius, took Jugurtha captive and brought him to Rome, where he perished in prison. This war, with the events which preceded it, shows the incompetence and the moral degradation of the senate.

286. The Cimbri and the Teutons; the New Army. — Marius had not yet arrived in Rome when the people reëlected him consul to protect the country from an inroad of barbarians. Two powerful German tribes, the Cim'bri and the Teu'tons, assailed Nar-bo-nen'sis, the new province Rome had established in Transalpine Gaul, and defeated six armies in succession. They threatened to invade Italy, but a delay of three years gave the Romans time to prepare. Re-elected consul year after year, Marius busied himself with reorganizing and training the army. When at length the Teutons were ready to cross the Alps into Italy, he met them at *Aq'uae Sex'ti-ae* in southern Gaul, and annihilated their great host (102 B.C.). In like manner he and his colleague, Catulus, in the following year slaughtered the Cimbri in northern Italy, after they had succeeded in crossing the Alps.

The army which gained these great victories had a new character. Before the time of Marius it was a militia; the men who waged Rome's wars had lands and families at home, and thought of themselves simply as citizens. But Marius enlisted many who owned no property; and by keeping them long in the service and under careful training, he made them professional soldiers. Such persons placed all their hopes in their commander and were ready to follow him in every undertaking, even against the government. Although Marius was himself loyal, later generals used the army to overthrow the republic.

287. Marius, Saturninus, and Glaucia (100 B.C.). — In his sixth consulship (100 B.C.) Marius allied himself with Sat-ur-ni'nus, a

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tribune, and Glau'ci-a, a praetor, to carry a law for planting colonies of his veterans in the provinces. These two men, though violent in their methods, were aiming to carry out the reforms of the Gracchi; they represented the peasants in opposition to the city rabble, which now supported the senate. With their armed followers Saturninus and Glaucia forced the measure through the assembly of tribes. Soon afterward another riot broke out between the rabble and the peasants. Then the senators and the knights called upon Marius as chief magistrate to put down the sedition. Reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates. After some time they surrendered; and though their enemies demanded their death, "he placed them in the senate-house with the intention of treating them in a more legal manner. The mob considered this a mere pretext. It tore the tiles off the roof and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office."[1]

In casting his lot with the nobles, who were his enemies, rather than with his friends, the reformers, Marius made a grave mistake. Far better would it have been for the Roman world had he seized the opportunity to make himself king. The time was ripe for the change. But lacking political wisdom, he failed to grasp the situation. In fact too great success was undermining his hardy peasant character. He missed his destiny; and the fate of Rome passed into other hands.

288. Drusus (91 B.C.); the Social War (90–88 B.C.).—The senate now found itself surrounded by enemies; the knights, the mob, and the peasants were all openly or secretly hostile. At the same time the oppressed Italians were on the point of rebellion. These conditions led some of the more liberal aristocrats to think of winning the support of the Italians by granting them the citizenship. The leader of this movement, Marcus Livius Dru'sus, a young man of

[1] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 32.

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great wealth and illustrious family, became a tribune of the plebs in 91 B.C. His proposal for the enfranchisement of the Italians passed the assembly but was annulled by the senate; and soon afterward Drusus was murdered. A law was then passed which threatened with prosecution any one who dared aid the Italians in acquiring the citizenship.

The death of Drusus and the passing of this act deprived the *Italians* of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means. It was not that they wished to vote at Rome; for most of them lived too far away for this. But they needed the protection which citizenship gave; their soldiers desired humane treatment at the hands of the commanders; in the affairs of peace, they asked for the same rights of property and of trade which the Romans had always enjoyed; but most of all, they desired Roman officials and private citizens to cease insulting, scourging, and killing them for amusement or spite. So much citizenship would have meant to them.

Accordingly, in 90 B.C., *the allies*, chiefly those of Sabellian race, *revolted*, and founded a new state. As their capital, they selected Cor-fin'i-um, and named it I-tal'i-ca. In the main they patterned their government after that of Rome; they gave the citizenship to all who took part with them in the war for freedom; and they aimed to annex the whole of Italy. The struggle which now began between Rome and her allies (*so'ci-i*) is called the Social War. As the opposing forces were divided into several small armies, the military operations were intricate. Though fighting against great odds, the Italians were so successful the first year that, near its close, Rome felt compelled to make sure of those who were still faithful by giving them the citizenship. Soon afterward the same reward was extended to those who would return to their allegiance. These concessions not only prevented the revolt from extending, but so weakened it that, in another year, the Romans broke the strength of the allies.

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In addition to local self-government in their own towns (**municipia**) *the Italians now possessed the Roman citizenship.* At last the whole Italian nation south of the Rubicon River was organized in one great state. But the new citizens were degraded by being enrolled in eight new tribes, which voted *after* the old thirty-five. Dissatisfied with their condition, the Italians still looked upon the senate and the city rabble as their oppressors, and they were ready therefore to welcome the strong man who, as absolute master, should make these enemies his footstool. Hence the idea of monarchy grew apace.

289. Marius and Sulla. — Accordingly politics took a new turn; the questions of the future were, who was to be the man of power, and how much authority was he to snatch from the senate. The first conflict came between the veteran Marius and Sulla, his quaestor of the Jugurthine War. The latter, patrician though poor, was endowed with a remarkable talent for war, diplomacy, and politics. "His eyes were an uncommonly pure and piercing blue, which the color of his face rendered still more terrible, as it was spotted with rough, red blotches interspersed with white, . . . a mulberry besprinkled with meal."[1] Success as a general in the Social War brought him the consulship in 88 B.C.

In this year it was necessary for Rome to send an army against *Mith-ri-da'tes*, the powerful king of Pontus, who was attempting to conquer Asia Minor. Although Sulla as consul had a claim upon the command, the popular party in the assembly appointed Marius. Sulla then led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Marius escaped to Africa. This was the first time the army appeared in politics — a critical moment in the history of the republic. We are to bear in mind that the revolution begun by the Gracchi still went on; its leaders, however, were no longer tribunes but generals. After restoring the authority of the senate and giving it complete power over the tribunes, Sulla proceeded with his army to the war against Mithridates.

[1] Plutarch, *Sulla*, 2.

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290. Marius and Cinna (87 B.C.). — No sooner had he left Italy than an armed conflict broke out between the consuls, Octavius and Cinna, over the enrolment of the Italians in the old tribes. In this struggle ten thousand men lost their lives. Octavius, leader of the aristocracy, drove Cinna, champion of the Italians, from the city. The senate deposed the popular leader from the consulship. But Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius from banishment, and following the example of Sulla, marched against Rome. Marius returned from an exile which had been to him a series of adventures and of hair-breadth escapes. In his old age, the greatness of his character had changed to rabid fury against the aristocrats. "Filthy and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, on his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships,"[1] and with grim determination promised the Italians their rights. His resolution was unbroken; for he was superstitious, and he remembered, so at least he asserted, that when he was a boy, an eagle's nest containing seven little ones had fallen into his lap, — an omen that he should be consul seven times. The two revolutionary leaders entered the city with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves. They killed Octavius and all the eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. They gave the Italians their rights. Marius received his seventh consulship, but died soon afterward from excessive drinking.

While condemning the bloody policy of Marius we should not forget that the nobles, by murdering the followers of the Gracchi, by opposing every peaceful attempt at reform, and by their greed and tyranny, brought this terrible punishment upon themselves.

291. The Rule of Sulla (82–79 B.C.). — Sulla gained great success in his war with Mithridates (88–84 B.C.); but as he saw that his opponents at Rome were revelling in power, he patched up a hasty treaty of alliance with the king, and returned home with a large,

[1] Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 67.

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well-trained army devoted to him. A civil war broke out between him and the democratic party, which still held the government. In a fierce battle at the Col'line Gate of Rome Sulla crushed his enemies and made himself master of the government.

He then proceeded with reckless butchery to destroy the opponents of his party. Day by day he posted a list of his victims ("the proscribed"), whom any one might slay and receive therefor a reward. The goods of the proscribed were confiscated, and their children disfranchised. The number of persons thus murdered at Rome amounted to nearly five thousand, including senators and knights. Many were the victims of private hatred, and many more were killed for the sake of their wealth. At the same time, murder and confiscation were carried on over all Italy. No one dared shelter a victim, not even children their parents. This Satanic law, while branding kindness and affection as criminal, placed a premium upon malice, greed, and murder.



"SULLA"
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

After a time Sulla assumed the *dictatorship*, an office long disused, and put his hand to the work of restoring the aristocratic constitution. As many senators had perished through war and proscription, he permitted the tribal assembly to elect new members from his partisans. The whole number of senators was to be six hundred. By enacting that no measure should be brought before the people without the consent of the senate, — a

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repeal of the Hortensian Law, — he gave that body control over the assemblies. This measure, with another which disqualified the tribunes from holding higher offices, weakened the tribunate. As a consequence the assembly of tribes became far less important than that of the centuries.[1]

He increased the number of quaestors and made this office the regular stepping-stone to the senate. Instead of six praetors there were to be eight, two of whom were still to have the civil jurisdiction, while the remaining six were to preside over the criminal courts. A man had to be quaestor before he could be praetor, and praetor before consul, and he was not permitted to accept the same office within ten years. The praetors and the consuls could hold military commands only in exceptional cases; their authority, wholly civil, was limited to Italy south of the Rubicon. But on the expiration of their office, they became pro-magistrates with military authority for an additional year in the provinces. His laws affecting the tribunes and the assemblies lasted but ten years; the others were permanent.

When he had completed these arrangements, he retired into private life. Soon afterward he died, and was buried with pomp and splendor such as nations rarely display even in honor of their kings.

He was not yet in his grave when his government began to totter.

Topics for Reading

I. The Lives and Private Character of the Gracchi. — Plutarch; *Tiberius Gracchus; Gaius Gracchus;* Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vii; Beesly, *Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla;* chs. ii, iii; see Indices of the various histories of Rome.

II. The Public Lands of the Romans and the Law of Tiberius Gracchus. — The first part of this topic is to be studied in the various histories of Rome by means of the Indices (see Agrarian, Land, etc.), and the second part will be found in the chapters on Tiberius Gracchus.

III. Marius. — Plutarch, *Marius;* Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vii; Beesly, *Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla*, chs. iv–x.

[1] §§ 241, 243, 246, 251.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLUTION — (II) POMPEY, CAESAR, AND OCTAVIUS (79–27 B.C.)

THIRD PERIOD OF THE REPUBLIC — SECOND EPOCH

292. Pompey (to 70 B.C.). — Sulla was the first to enforce his will upon the state by means of the army. After his time the political power fell more and more into the hands of the generals.

Among the rising officers of the army Gnaeus Pom'pey was most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy. While still a young man he had joined in the civil war upon the democrats, and had shown himself so able an officer that Sulla hailed him as "the Great." After the death of his patron, Pompey showed himself still further a champion of the nobility by helping put down a democratic rebellion against the government. A good general was now needed in Spain, and the senate, according to Sulla's arrangements, should have sent thither as proconsul a man who had already been consul. But as it could find no able person with this qualification, it gave the proconsulship to Pompey, who had not filled even the office of quaestor.

Ser-to'ri-us, a democratic leader, had gone as governor to Spain in the time of the civil war. Regarding Sulla as a usurper, he claimed to represent the true government of Rome. He was perhaps the first Roman to sympathize thoroughly with the governed, to make their interests his chief care, to give them the genuine benefits of Latin civilization. From love and admiration the natives called him Hannibal. With the small forces at his command he routed the Roman armies sent against him, including that of Pompey.

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Not till Sertorius was murdered by one of his own generals did Pompey succeed in putting an end to the war (76 B.C.).

Meantime in Italy more than a hundred thousand slaves were in revolt. This insurrection was the work of Spar'ta-cus, a gladiator, who had escaped from a "training school" in Capua. For two years he defied Rome and overthrew her armies (73–71 B.C.). Then the praetor Marcus Licinius Cras'sus, with eight legions, defeated and killed him and dispersed his army. At the last moment he was slightly aided by Pompey, who had just returned from Spain.



POMPEY THE GREAT
(National Museum, Naples; found at Pompeii)

293. Pompey as Consul (70 B.C.); as Commander against the Pirates (67 B.C.). — These two generals were eager for the consulship, and as the senate hesitated on the ground that Pompey had not yet been quaestor or praetor, they turned for support to the people, promising them the repeal of Sulla's laws. Elected consuls in 70 B.C., they restored the power of the tribunes and took from the senate the authority Sulla had given it. Thus the aristocratic government, after standing but ten years, was overthrown by the man its founder had styled "the Great." This was a victory, not so much of the democracy, as of the army; for the tribunes when restored began to attach themselves to the service of the great military leaders.

For some years *pirates* had been swarming over the whole Mediterranean Sea. They seized cities, captured Roman nobles, whom they held for ransom, and by cutting off the grain supply they

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threatened Rome with famine. As the senate seemed powerless to check the evil, Ga-bin'i-us, a tribune, proposed to give Pompey for three years absolute command of the Mediterranean, together with a strip of its coast, fifty miles wide, as far as the Roman empire extended. He was to have a vast number of ships and men and could draw on the treasury without limit. Though the senate opposed the law because it gave so much power to one man, the people carried it with enthusiasm. Within forty days after his armament was ready, Pompey cleared the sea of pirates. He destroyed their hive in Cilicia and made of that country a Roman province.

294. Pompey in the East (66–62 B.C.). — The Romans were again at war with Mithridates, but could make little headway against him. Many thought Pompey the only man able to conquer this great enemy. The tribune Ma-nil'i-us, accordingly, carried a law which gave the command in the East to Pompey in addition to the power he already had. He easily drove the king from Pontus, the most of which he joined to Bithynia, a newly organized province.

He then annexed Syria as a province to the empire, thus extending the dominion of Rome to the Euphrates. Taking advantage of a civil war in Judea, he subdued that country. A few small kingdoms remained in and about Asia Minor; their rulers, though allies in name, were really vassals of Rome. With the great Parthian empire beyond the Euphrates he made a treaty of friendship. Like Alexander the Great he founded many Greek colonies in order to extend the civilization of Greece throughout the East. These arrangements were all admirable. With her dependent allies and her provinces, Rome now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean.

Mithridates, who at the age of eleven had become king of Pontus, was a miracle of physical strength and mental cunning, but cruel and bloodthirsty. He waged three wars with the Romans: —

I. (88–84 B.C.). — He aimed not only to extend his kingdom around the

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Black Sea, but also to make it include all Asia Minor, the western part of which belonged to Rome. By his order eighty thousand Romans and Italians throughout Asia Minor were murdered in a single day. Greece sided with him; his armies occupied Thrace and Macedonia. Then Sulla took the field, and in less than three years wrested from Mithridates all his conquests (§§ 289, 291).

II. (83–82 B.C.). — Mu-re'na, the successor of Sulla, provoked a brief, unimportant war with the king of Pontus. It was ended by the order of Sulla.

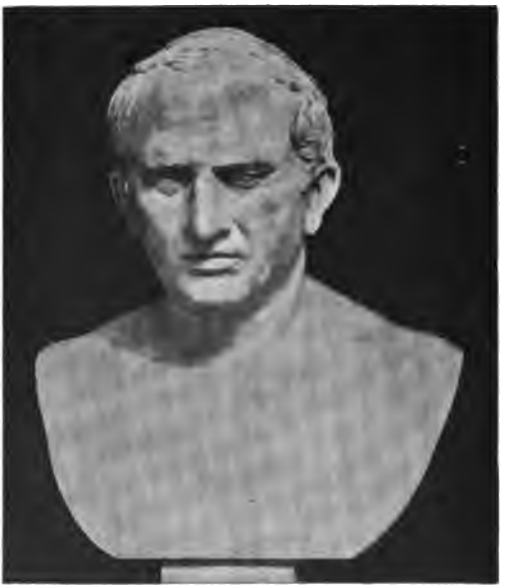
III. (74–63 B.C.). — After preparing a great army and fleet, Mithridates began a last desperate struggle with Rome. Lucullus, the consul in chief command, was successful for a time, and then lost ground. Next Pompey took the field, and Mithridates, defeated in battle, fled from his kingdom, and was afterward killed, at his own request, by a Gallic mercenary. On the character and deeds of Mithridates, see Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii.

295. The Conspiracy of Catiline (63 B.C.). — In the absence of Pompey important events were taking place at Rome. Cic'e-ro, a native of Ar-pi'num, the birthplace of Marius, became consul in 63 B.C. Though he was from a municipium and a man of moderate means, his brilliant oratory and administrative ability won for him the highest offices at Rome. In his consulship a conspiracy, which for some time had been forming on a vast scale, threatened to destroy the government. The leader, Lucius Cat'i-line, was a man of high birth and of splendid talents, but vicious and depraved. He drew to himself the most desperate men in Italy, including all who wished a renewal of civil war and massacres, as well as debtors, gamblers, and assassins. While the head of the conspiracy was at Rome, its members extended throughout the peninsula. When these anarchists had their plans well laid for killing the magistrates and the nobles and for seizing the government, the vigilant consul discovered their plot and denounced Catiline before the senate. The arch-conspirator fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria, where he was soon afterward defeated and killed. Cicero arrested a few of Catiline's chief associates who remained in the city, and by virtue of the absolute power given him by the senate, put them to death without a trial (§ 284, n. 2).

His success in saving the state made *Cicero* for a time the most

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eminent man in Rome. The people saluted him Father of his Country; and though he was a "new man,"[1] the senators recognized him as their leader. He loved his country well and was strongly attached to the republican form of government. But he had not the strength of will to follow a policy of his own or to live up to his ideals. Such in fact had become the condition of public affairs that the statesman, however grand, appears strangely dwarfed and out of place; for the age of generals had come, they were the only strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was in vain, therefore, that Cicero hoped to make Pompey a defender of the republican constitution.



CICERO
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

296. The First Triumvirate — Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus (60 B.C.). — All were anxiously awaiting the return of Pompey from the East. While both nobles and democrats claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government and make himself dictator by means of his army, as Sulla had done. But his love for the republic, together with a belief that his influence alone would bring him all the honor and power he needed, led him to disband his army and come to Rome as a private

[1] § 250.

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citizen. He was bitterly disappointed. The senate, which had always distrusted him, hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East. The great general found himself as helpless in politics as Marius had been.

It happened, however, that two eminent politicians needed his aid. One was Crassus, whose great wealth gave him influence. The other was *Gaius Ju'li-us Cae'sar*. This young man, though a patrician, was leader of the democratic party. He as well as Crassus desired a military command like that which Pompey had held. The motive of Crassus seems to have been the enjoyment of wealth and power; Caesar aimed to be a great general and statesman.

Seeing Pompey cast off by the senate, they came to him with a proposal that they three should act together for their common interests. This union of the three men, though unofficial, is called the First Tri-um'vi-rate. Pompey contributed to it his military fame, Crassus the influence of his wealth, and Caesar his commanding intelligence. According to agreement Caesar received the consulship in 59 B.C., and in return secured from the people the ratification of Pompey's Eastern arrangements. As the tool of the triumvirs, or at least under their protection, the tribune Clo'di-us carried a decree for the banishment of Cicero on the ground that in his consulship he had put citizens to death without a trial. The people soon recalled him, however, and restored him to honor.

297. Caesar Proconsul of Gaul (58–49 B.C.). — At the close of his term Caesar as proconsul received for five years the government of Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis, and Il-lyr'i-cum. He now held the kind of position for which he had long been striving; it would give him an army through which he might make himself the greatest power in the state. Before the end of his period of government the triumvirs renewed their alliance. Caesar was to have five more years of command in Gaul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 B.C. and afterward to take charge of some of the best provinces in the empire. In this way these men divided among them the Roman world.

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In the history of the First Triumvirate the interest centres in Caesar. Along the southern coast of what is now France, lay Narbonensis, recently organized as a Roman province. North of this province were the still unconquered *Gauls*, chiefly of Celtic race, extending northward and westward to the coasts and eastward to the Rhine. In civilization these people were decidedly inferior to the Romans, but had learned to make their living mainly by tilling the soil. East of the Rhine were the barbarous, half-nomadic Germans. A crisis in Rome's relation with these Northern peoples was now at hand, like that with which Marius had successfully grappled. A powerful German tribe under the chieftain A-ri-o-vis'tus had crossed the Rhine and had seized some lands of the Gauls. This movement was but the beginning of a German migration, which if unchecked would have thrown Gaul into commotion, and might have brought both German and Celtic hordes into Narbonensis and even into Italy. A more direct menace to Rome came from the Hel-ve'ti-ans, a great Celtic tribe of the Alps, who were abandoning their home in the mountains for the broader and more fertile lands of southern Gaul.

298. The Conquest of Gaul (58–49 B.C.). — Caesar, who at this time had had little experience in command, thus found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers. But the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war. With wonderful rapidity he gathered his widely scattered forces, enrolled new legions, and inspired his raw recruits with the courage and devotion of veterans. He immediately defeated the Helvetians with great slaughter, and drove the remnant of their host back to their former home. In the same summer he won a great victory over the Germans and compelled them to recross the Rhine. In the following year, as the Bel'gi-ans of northern Gaul threatened to give him trouble, he resolved to subdue them. In the invasion of their country he met little opposition till he came to the Ner'vi-i, the most warlike and the most powerful of the Belgic tribes. These people would have nothing of Roman traders in wine

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and other luxuries, for they wished to keep their strength intact and their martial fire alive. While Caesar was approaching they fell upon him so fiercely that he could neither form his line nor give orders. Each soldier was left to his own judgment. But the cool courage of the legionaries and the heroism of the commander won the desperate fight. Few Nervii survived. As a result of the campaign all northern Gaul submitted. Next year he attacked the Ven'e-ti, who occupied a strip of the western coast. A maritime people, they built their towns on headlands protected on all sides by tide-waters too shallow for Roman ships. They themselves put to sea in clumsy flat-bottomed boats with leathern sails. Caesar made little progress against them till his small, light fleet met their bulky navy in the open sea. A happy thought occurred to the Romans. With scythes fastened to long poles they cut the enemy's tackle so as to disable his ships. Victory was then easy; the Veneti with their allies submitted.

In the remaining years of his command Caesar drove back another horde of Germans; to check their inroads he twice invaded their country. His two voyages to Britain prepared the way for the future conquest of that island. It was necessary, too, to crush fierce rebellions among his new subjects; but though his conquest spread desolation and death over the entire country, in the end his just and humane settlement of affairs attached the subjects loyally to him. All Gaul, at first under one governor, afterward became four provinces. It gave new strength to Rome and protected the Rhine frontier against the dangerous Germans. The new subjects not only served in the armies, but readily learned Latin and adopted the Roman dress and customs.

299. The End of Crassus (53 B.C.); Pompey and Caesar clash. — Meanwhile Crassus took command in Syria, his province. He was defeated and killed by the Parthians, whom he had needlessly provoked to war. Pompey, instead of going to his provinces in Spain and Africa, as the law directed, remained near Rome to help the

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senate preserve order. The nobles now looked to him for protection from the mighty governor of Gaul, who represented the people.

These two leaders ceased to be friends. Then, in 49 B.C., the senate ordered Caesar to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy. When the tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, vetoed this decree, they were harshly treated, and fled thereupon to Caesar's camp. The mistreatment of the tribunes gave him a pretext for bringing his army to Rome to protect the sacred office (§ 242).

The story is told that at the *Rubicon*, which separated his province from Italy, Caesar hesitated while he discussed with his friends the consequences of crossing, like an invader, into Italy and of thus making himself an enemy to his country; then exclaiming, "The die is cast!" he hurried over the river, and with a trumpet summoned his troops to follow. Although the anecdote may not be true, the crossing of the Rubicon was a crisis in the life of Caesar and in the history of his country; for by bringing his army into Italy in violation of the law, he began a war upon the republic.

300. The Civil War (48–45 B.C.). — Pompey, with the consuls and many senators, retired to the East, where he expected his great influence to bring him abundance of supporters and of resources for war. Caesar immediately secured control of Italy and Spain. His gentleness to opponents and his moderation in relieving distressed debtors and in protecting property won the hearts of all quiet citizens, and made even many followers of Pompey suspect that they had taken the wrong side. After setting up a government at Rome, Caesar crossed to Greece and met his rival at Phar-sa'lus, in Thessaly. Although in appearance Pompey championed the senate, the real question at issue was which of the two commanders should rule the Roman world. Pompey's army outnumbered the enemy more than two to one; but the mental resources of Caesar, together with the superior manliness of the troops from western Europe, won the day. Pompey fled to Egypt; and when Caesar reached Alexandria in pur-

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suit, a would-be friend brought him the head of his murdered rival. It was no welcome gift to the noble victor.

In Egypt, King Ptolemy had deposed *Cle-o-pa'tra*, at once his wife and sister. But Caesar, siding with the charming queen, established her as sole monarch. Then while passing through Syria and Asia Minor he settled the affairs of the provinces, and in one battle crushed Phar'na-ces, son and successor of Mithridates, thus putting an end to a dangerous enemy. After the victory he sent the senate this brief despatch, "*Veni, vidi, vici*" (I came, I saw, I conquered). Another year he defeated the senatorial army at Thap'sus in Africa. One of the aristocratic commanders in that region was Cato, — honest, loyal, and stubborn, yet narrow-minded as had been his great-grandfather, the famous censor. In despair of the republic



GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR
(National Museum, Naples)

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he killed himself. Soon afterward the victory at Mun'da in Spain destroyed the last opposition to Caesar.

301. Caesar's Government. — He held at one and the same time the offices of consul, censor, and dictator, granted him for long periods or for life. As pontifex maximus he was head of the state religion. These offices made him king in all but name. He received, too, for life the title Imperator ("general"), from which the word emperor is derived. As the army overthrew the republic, it was natural that the general should become the emperor. Evidently Caesar wished to make his power hereditary; and as he had no nearer heirs, he adopted as a son his grandnephew Octavius, a youth of remarkable talent.

Caesar allowed the assemblies little power, and made the senate a mere advisory council. Sulla had doubled the number of senators; Caesar increased it to nine hundred by admitting not only knights but also many inferior citizens and even some half-barbarous Gauls. Probably he wished in time to make it represent the whole empire.

In the *provinces* the evils of aristocratic rule, described in an earlier chapter,[1] were now at their height. By abolishing the system of leasing the direct taxes, Caesar prevented the capitalists from plundering the subject countries. He appointed able, honest governors and held them strictly to account. The officers whom he appointed to command the legions, under the governor, and the revenue officials, who were his own servants and freedmen,[2] saw that his will should everywhere be enforced. The "estates of the Roman people," as the provinces had been called, were to be cultivated and improved, no longer pillaged. Thus by destroying the root of the evil Caesar regenerated provincial life. He gave citizenship to the Gauls, and it was his wish that as rapidly as possible all the provincials should become Romans. At the same time he greatly improved the condition of Rome and Italy.

302. Caesar's Death (44 B.C.); the Heir — The nobles were envious of

[1] Ch. vi. § 274. [2] § 366.

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Caesar, and longed to regain the privilege of misruling the world. While they forced upon him honors such as belonged only to the gods, they began to plot his murder. Chief among the conspirators were the "lean and hungry" Cassius, and Marcus Brutus, a man with good intentions, but weak and unpractical. All together there were about sixty in the plot. Pretending to urge a petition of one of their number, they gathered about him in the senate and assailed him with daggers. He fell stabbed with twenty-three wounds. The senate dispersed. Mark An'to-ny, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, delivered the funeral oration and read the will, which, by its generosity to the citizens, stirred them against the murderers. The most sincere mourners, however, were the provincials who chanced to be in Rome; they wept over the ashes of their mighty benefactor, and doubtless dreaded the renewed anarchy and terrorism of senatorial rule.[1]

Fearing the enraged populace, the chief conspirators fled from Rome. Cicero, who approved the murder, though he had no hand in it, sailed for Greece but was driven back by a storm. Thereupon he returned to Rome to take the lead of the senate against the consul Mark Antony, who was acting the tyrant. In the next few months Cicero delivered against him a series of powerful speeches, known as the *Philippics* from their resemblance to the orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.[2] But eloquence had ceased to be a force in the world. A civil war was to decide who should succeed the deceased monarch.

Octavius was pursuing his studies in Illyricum when news came of his great-uncle's death. He sailed at once for Italy, and taking the name Gaius Julius Caesar Oc-ta-vi-a'nus, he came almost alone to Rome, into the midst of enemies. But he soon gained friends. By promising the people all their late ruler had bequeathed them, he readily won their hearts; and for a time he sided with the senate against Antony. Deceived by his show of frank simplicity, Cicero

[1] On the character of Caesar, see Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii. [2] § 185.

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declared that the young Octavianus was all for the republic. In fact this youth of nineteen years had no enthusiasm for any cause; in cool cunning he outmatched even the political veterans of the capital.

303. The Second Triumvirate (43); the Battles of Philippi (42 B.C.). — With an army he had raised, Octavianus helped win a victory over Antony. The senate, now feeling secure, cast off the boy. Immediately he came to an understanding with Antony, his rival, and with Lep'i-dus, Caesar's master of horse, who still held an important command. These three men made of themselves "Triumvirs for Reëstablishing the State," — an office they were to hold five years, with power to dispose of all magistracies at will and to issue decrees which should have the force of law. They filled Rome with their troops and renewed the hideous proscriptions[1] of Sulla. Each sacrificed friends and even kinsmen to the hatred of the others. Among the victims of Antony was Cicero, the last great orator of the ancient world. Though he was vain and wavering, though the cause he championed meant anarchy for Rome and misery for the provinces, in his heart he was a patriot and a friend of liberty.

Antony and Octavianus led their armies to Macedonia to meet the republican forces which Cassius and Brutus had collected there. Two battles were fought near Phi-lip'pi. After the first, which was indecisive, Cassius killed himself in despair. Brutus, beaten in the second engagement, followed the example of his mate; the republican scholar could not live under the rule of iron.

304. Civil War between Antony and Octavianus (31); End of the Republic (27 B.C.). — The triumvirs renewed their authority for another five years; and when the incompetent Lepidus dropped from the board, the two remaining members divided the empire between them. Antony ruled the East and Octavianus the West. To cement the alliance, the heir of Caesar gave his sister Octavia in marriage to his colleague. But trouble soon arose. Though a clever orator, a diplomatist, and no mean general, Antony was fond of luxury and of

[1] Cf. Shakspere, *Julius Caesar*, Act IV. Scene i.

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A ROMAN FLEET IN HARBOR
(Based on a Wall-Painting, Pompeii.)

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vice. Neglecting his wife and the interests of the state, he spent his time with Cleopatra in frivolous dissipation. The Italians supposed he intended to make her his queen and himself despot of an Oriental empire with Alexandria for his capital. They willingly followed Octavianus, therefore, in a war against this national enemy. The fleets of the rivals met off *Ac'ti-um* on the west coast of Greece (31 B.C.). A-grip'pa, an able general, commanded the ships of Octavianus against the combined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra. In the early part of the fight this infatuated pair sailed away, leaving



CLEOPATRA
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

their fleet to take care of itself. Their ponderous galleys were outmanoeuvred by Agrippa's light triremes, and many of them were burned with fire-balls. After the battle, Antony's land force surrendered. At last when he and Cleopatra committed suicide in Alexandria, Octavianus was master of the empire. For a time it seemed doubtful whether in imitation of his adoptive father he would retain all the power in his own hands, or restore it to the senate after the example of Sulla; but finally he chose a middle course. The republican period came to an end in 27 B.C., when he laid down the office of triumvir and received from the senate the title Augustus. Hitherto

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this epithet had been reserved for the gods and their belongings. In conferring it on Octavianus the senate intended to grant no power, but to mark him as the one whom all should revere. Though we shall henceforth speak of him as Augustus, we are to bear in mind that all the emperors after him held this title as their chief distinction. It is nearly equivalent to His Sacred Majesty.

The battle of Actium was one of the most important in ancient history; it saved European civilization from undue Oriental influence; it ended the long anarchy which followed the murder of Caesar; and it placed the destiny of the empire in the hands of an able statesman.

Let us in the following summary review the causes of the change from republic to empire: —

(1) Conquest brought excessive power and wealth to a few of the Romans, while it reduced the bulk of the citizens to poverty and wretchedness. (2) The senate, representing these men of wealth, became corrupt, oppressive, and weak; it could neither maintain order in Rome nor protect the provinces. (3) The Gracchi began the revolution. Gaius Gracchus organized the city mob, a revolutionary force, through which he set aside the authority of the senate. (4) But in the army, as reformed soon afterward by Marius, an ambitious man could find a far more reliable and effective weapon for overthrowing the senate and for making himself master of the government. (5) Sulla first used this military instrument for political purposes. (6) It was the work of Pompey in his war with the pirates and with Mithridates to show how beneficial to the Roman world the rule of one man might be. (7) The government of Caesar was a real monarchy, though it had too powerful enemies to be lasting. (8) After his death the senate failed to recover its authority, and the civil wars following decided that Octavianus, his heir, should be master of the empire.

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Culture[1]

305. The Great Age of Republican Literature (82–27 B.C.). — A practical people with little imagination, the Romans were slow in turning their attention to literature. And though in time they produced much poetry as well as prose, they were in their literary labors imitators of the Greeks. A few of their writers, however, show originality and even genius. The first great age of Latin literature extends from the dictatorship of Sulla to the fall of the republic.



Apollo with a Lyre
(National Museum, Naples)

One of the most eminent writers of this age was Caesar. His *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *on the Civil War* tell the story of his campaigns. The work is a model historical narrative, — plain, accurate, and elegant, with no pretension to ornament of any kind. Toward the end of the period Sallust wrote a short treatise *On the Conspiracy of Catiline* and another *On the Jugurthine War*. Along with his narrative of events, he tried to analyze impartially the character of society and the motives of conduct. These works are valuable sources of information for the subjects treated. These were the chief historians of the age. Cornelius Ne'pos wrote a work *On Eminent Men*, in which he treated famous Romans and foreigners. Most of the lives which

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit §§ 305, 306.

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we still possess are of Greek generals; they prove him to have been an inferior and untrustworthy author.

The foremost orator of the period — and one of the most famous of all time — was *Cicero*. A perfect master of style, he brought Latin prose to the height of its development. If in reading his speeches we guard against his misrepresentation of truth, we shall find them valuable for the study of the times. More trustworthy are his *Letters* to friends, in which he speaks candidly of passing events.

Lu-cre'ti-us, a poet of the age, composed in verse a work *On the Nature of the World*, in which he tried by means of science to dispel from the mind all fear of death and of the gods, — to free men from superstition. It is a work of remarkable genius. Ca-tul'lus, who lived at the same time, wrote beautiful lyrics and elegies on subjects of love and life, and some bitter lampoons. On the whole, the poetry of this period is less celebrated than that of the following.

306. Public Works — Art (to 27 B.C.). — In art as well as in literature the Romans preferred use to beauty. Their practical nature showed itself especially in such necessary public works as roads, bridges, sewers, and aqueducts.

In the beginning they found their models among the Etruscans, and not long afterward among the Greeks. Though the chief influence in their art, as in their literature, was Hellenic, they did not copy merely, but whatever they learned of others they adapted in their own way to their own needs. Next to usefulness the works of their hands are most famous for *grandeur and durability*. These, too, were qualities of their character; but they were able to achieve their ideals partly because of the excellent building material in and about Rome and partly through the use of the round arch. This form of architecture they employed in sewers, in bridges, and with necessary modifications in the domes of some of their temples.

We have already noticed the architecture of the regal period.[1] The Cloaca Maxima is still in use, and parts of the "Wall of Romu-

[1] § 226.

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lus" and of the "Servian Wall" are standing at the present day. The men of the republican period continued to build, but their works have almost completely disappeared. In 312 B.C. Appius Claudius Caecus,[1] as censor, built the first aqueduct and the first military road — the Appian Aqueduct and the Appian Way. For miles along this road are the tombs of the great Roman families.



TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA
(Appian Way)

That of Cecilia Metella, built in the age of Julius Caesar, is the most impressive.

While we appreciate the progress of literature and of intelligence, we must not lose sight of the fact that in nearly every other respect Rome was rapidly decaying. Her once sound morals had given way to vice; republican freedom had long been a mere shadow; the empire was threatened within by anarchy, without by barbarians.

[1] § 251.

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No reforms could make the old world young. All that statesmen could now do was to determine what elements of life and virtue still lingered in the Roman world, and to organize these forces, with which to stay for a few more centuries the wreck of ancient civilization.

Topics for Reading

I. Cicero in Politics. — Plutarch, *Cicero;* Merivale, *Roman Triumvirates;* Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero;* How and Leigh, *History of Rome;* Shuckburgh, *History of Rome* (see Indices).

II. Cicero as an Orator. — Mackail, *Latin Literature*, pp. 62–68; Cruttwell, *Roman Literature*, pp. 159–174.

III. Caesar's Government. — Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, pp. 133–138; Strachan-Davidson, ch. xii; Fowler, *Julius Caesar*, ch. xviii.

IV. The Conspirators against Caesar. — Plutarch, *Cicero; Brutus;* Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii; Strachan-Davidson, pp. 370–379; Fowler, pp. 369–378; Merivale, *Roman Triumvirates*, pp. 171–213; cf. Shakspere, *Julius Caesar.*



JULIA, DAUGHTER OF AUGUSTUS, AND HER SONS GAIUS AND LUCIUS
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

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CHAPTER IX

THE JULIAN EMPERORS (27 B.C.–41 A.D.)

THE DYARCHY

307. The Frontiers. — The republic fell because of the weakness and the oppression of the nobles. The rule of the emperors, on the other hand, brought protection and happiness to the empire.

The first aim of Augustus (emperor 27 B.C.–14 A.D.) was to defend the empire against foreign enemies, to maintain quiet by diplomacy, and to wage war solely for the sake of peace.

To protect the northern frontier from the barbarians of central Europe was the most difficult problem with which he had to deal. Tiberius, a stepson,[1] extended the empire as far as the Danube, and began to build a chain of forts along that river. Meanwhile Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, was fortifying the Rhine in a similar way and was attempting to conquer Germany as far as the Elbe. But after three years of successful warfare he fatally injured himself by a fall from his horse. Hastening to his brother's side, Tiberius was with him in his last moments; and with a devotion which was rare in that age, he brought the body from the depths of the German forest to Rome, walking all the way in front of the bier. It was a great loss to the imperial family, for Drusus was an able man and popular with the army.

After Tiberius had completed the conquest, Augustus made Va'rus, a distant kinsman, governor of the new province. This man had

[1] Livia, wife of Augustus, had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, by a former marriage. As the *adopted* son of Augustus, Tiberius entered the Julian family and became the second emperor; § 311.

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too much of the old republican spirit[1] to make a good ruler. He considered his subjects mere slaves, whom he tried to govern by the principles he had learned in the Orient. They resisted; and under the lead of Ar-min'i-us, a chieftain's son who had received his education at Rome, they plotted against their tyrannic governor. As he was leading his three legions through the *Teu'to-berg Forest* on his way to winter quarters, they surrounded him and cut his army to pieces. Varus killed himself; the barbarians hung their prisoners to trees and tortured them to death (9 A.D.). Though Augustus appeared to bear the news with a brave heart, his spirit was broken by the misfortune he could not repair. From time to time he would say, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions." Convinced that the strength of the empire should not be further wasted upon such projects, he established the Rhine as the boundary, and decided resolutely on a policy of peace.



AUGUSTUS
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

308. The Provinces; the Government. — The border provinces

[1] On the oppression of provinces by republican governors, see § 274.

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and all others which danger threatened were under the direct care of the emperor. His lieutenants had charge of their judicial and military affairs; his agents attended to finance. The older and more peaceful provinces still belonged to the senate, which appointed annual governors. This double rule of the emperor and senate is termed a *dy'arch-y*. The division of power was carried through the whole government.

Augustus followed the example of Julius Caesar in insisting on a just and vigorous government; although he withheld the Roman citizenship, the provincials now enjoyed a large degree of municipal freedom. He encouraged trade and knit the empire together by building well-paved roads to the remotest parts of the Roman world. Thus the imperial government brought the *provinces* protection from invasion, thrift, happiness, and the healthful atmosphere of local freedom. However far from ideal, the system was as good as circumstances would permit.

Like Caesar, Augustus held at once various kinds of *official authority* — chiefly the proconsular power for the control of the provinces and the tribunician power for the government of Rome. The tribunician authority made his person sacred and marked him as a friend of the people. Although he sometimes held the consulship and occasionally undertook the duties of censor, he generally left the old offices to others, whom the people elected and the senate supervised in the traditional way. This division of powers and offices between him and the senate was also an element of the dyarchy. The consuls, whose term was now generally less than a year, the praetors, the plebeian tribunes, and the other *republican officers* performed their routine duties with little change; but they were all under the shadow of Augustus. By professing to derive his authority from the senate and people, he disguised his own position in republican forms. Whereas the moderns call him emperor from his title of imperator, the Romans styled him simply prince, the "foremost" of the citizens. The outward sign of his position was the purple robe which he wore at festivals.

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For his own security he kept near Rome a body of troops known as the *pre-to'ri-an*[1] *guard.* Although these soldiers were doubtless necessary, their power and insolence grew till in time they made and murdered emperors at pleasure (§ 328).

309. Public Improvements; Architecture. — Augustus planted many colonies both in Italy and in the provinces. His aim was not



THE TEMPLE OF MARS THE AVENGER
(In the Augustan Forum)

only to furnish his retired veterans with farms but also to resettle vacant districts, so as to increase the prosperity of the country.

With him begins the great age of Roman architecture. He himself tells us of his public works: —

"The Capitol[2] and the Pompeian theatre I have repaired at enormous expense. . . . Aqueducts which were crumbling in many places, by reason of age, I have restored . . . and have finished the

[1] From *prae-to'ri-um*, the general's tent, — the pretorian guard was an outgrowth from the guard which protected the general's headquarters.

[2] The Capitoline temple of Jupiter.

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Julian Forum and the ba-sil'i-ca which was between the temple of Castor and the temple of Saturn, works begun and almost completed by my father[1]; and when that same basilica was consumed by fire, I began its reconstruction on an enlarged scale, inscribing it with the names of my sons. If I do not live to complete it, I have given orders that it be finished by my heirs. In accordance with a decree of the senate, while consul for the sixth time, I restored eighty-two



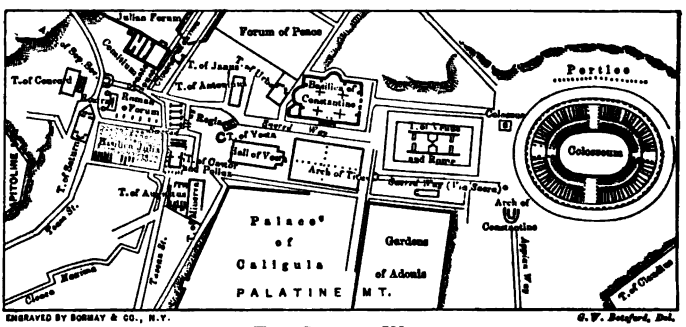
THE PANTHEON
(Campus Martius)

temples of the gods, passing over none which was at that time in need of repair. In my seventh consulship I [re]built the Flaminian Way to Ariminum, and all the bridges except the Mulvian and the Minucian.

[1] *I.e.* Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Augustus. The Roman basilica was a hall used for courts of justice and for mercantile business. It was built in imitation of the Basilica ("Royal House") at Athens. The latter was a hall of columns in which the *basileus* (king archon) held office. In Christian times the name came to be applied to a church built in imitation of the Roman basilica.

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"Upon private ground I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars the Avenger and the Augustan Forum."[1] The Mars of this temple was not to be the god of conquest; his function, rather, was to punish foreign powers which disturbed the peace of the empire. The Pantheon, which means the "all-divine," is a famous building generally attributed to Agrippa, the emperor's ablest minister. In it men worshipped Mars and Venus, the chief gods of the Julian family. It still stands well preserved in what was once the Campus Martius, and is now used as a Christian church. The temple is circular and is covered by a most magnificent dome. The



THE SACRED WAY

spectator who stands within this rotunda cannot fail to see in it an emblem of the vast and durable power of Rome. At the close of his reign Augustus could boast that he had found Rome of brick but left it of marble.

310. Literature and Religion. — Augustus encouraged and aided literary men. Through their works he aimed to purify and to ennoble the present by bringing it the life of the good and great past. *Liv'y*, the most eminent author of prose in this age, wrote a history of Rome in a hundred and forty-two books. In preparing this work he took no pains to discover the truth, but relied wholly on earlier writers of annals. He was lacking, too, in depth and in that knowl-

[1] Augustus, *Deeds*, xx, xxi.

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edge of military affairs and of law which was essential to the historian of Rome. But he loved what he believed to be true and right. The story of Rome, as he tells it, is always lively, vivid, and interesting.

In several ways *Ver'gil*, the poet, resembled Livy. Both composed in a lofty style with high moral aims. Inspired by the greatness of Rome, both were intensely patriotic, and expressed more perfectly than any other writers the ideals of their nation. The poet's narrative is as lively and as dramatic as the historian's. Vergil is graceful, tender, and childlike. His principal work is an epic poem called the *Ae-ne'id*. In this story of the wanderings of Aeneas, he glorifies the beginnings of Rome and, at the same time, the imperial family, which claimed descent from the hero of his poem.



VERGIL
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

Horace, author of *Odes* and *Satires* and of *Epistles* in verse, was the poet of contentment and common sense, who bade his friends—

> "Snatch gayly the joys which the moment shall bring,
> And away every care and perplexity fling."[1]

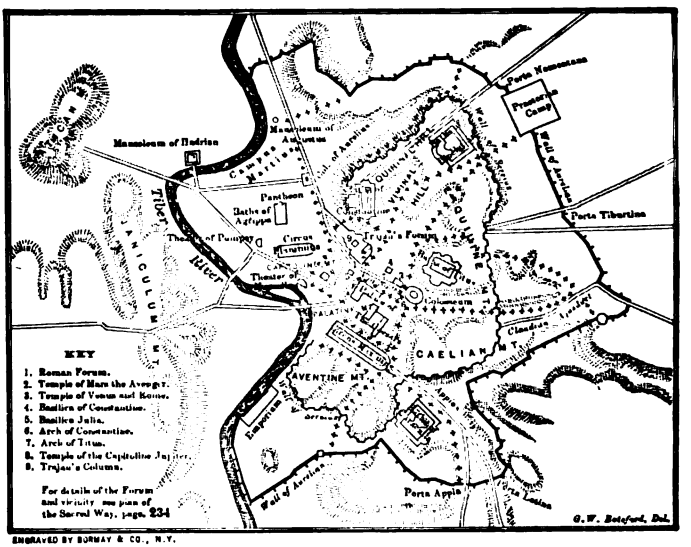
Leave the future to the gods, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fireplace, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make an ideal

[1] *Odes*, iii. 8.

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life. After the stormy end of the republic, the world needed such a lesson.

In the later republic, Roman society forgot the gods and lost its morals. Augustus restored the ancient ceremonies of worship which had fallen into disuse, and attempted to lead the people back to the old religion and to the pure, simple life of the ancestors who had made the city great. Julius had been deified after his death,



IMPERIAL ROME

and this example was followed in the case of nearly all the other emperors. Augustus came near to divinity even in Rome, while the provincials built temples in which they sacrificed to him as to a god. In fact the worship of the emperor was to be the most vital force in the religion of the Roman world till the adoption of Christianity. "He is the paternal Zeus and the saviour of the whole race of man, who fulfils all prayers, even more than is asked. For land and sea enjoy peace; cities flourish; everywhere are harmony and prosperity

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and happiness."[1] Three times in his reign he closed the doors of the temple of Janus as a sign of peace throughout the empire. In one of these intervals of quiet there was born in Judea the Christ, who was to give the world new spiritual life and an ideal of perfect manhood.

311. Tiberius Emperor (14–37 A.D.). — Augustus died in 14 A.D., after forty-five years of rule. His wife Livia, who had been his strong support during life, secured to her son Tiberius the peaceful succession.[2]

Immediately after the accession of Tiberius the armies on the Danube and the Rhine mutinied, in the hope of gaining some reward for a promise of devotion to the new emperor. Fortunately the generals proved loyal and with difficulty suppressed the outbreak. The emperor's nephew Ger-man'i-cus, who commanded on the Rhine, then led his army across the river and avenged the defeat of Varus. But as Augustus in his will had advised his successors not to extend the boundaries of the empire, Tiberius recalled his nephew from Germany.

No important war disturbed the remainder of his reign; he devoted himself, therefore, to *administrative work*, in which he showed marked ability. "He was careful not to distress the provinces by new burdens, and to see that in bearing the old they were safe from the rapacity of their governors."[3] By rebuilding twelve cities of Asia Minor which had been destroyed by earthquakes, he taught the Romans that they had duties as well as privileges in their relations with the provinces. There is no wonder, then, that the subject nations respected him.

But the populace disliked him because he fed them poorly and provided no shows of gladiators. The nobles, who longed for a return of the republic, naturally hated him still more. Conspiracies became so common that he began rigorously to enforce the law of

[1] From an inscription found in Asia Minor.

[2] § 307, n. 1.

[3] Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 6.

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treason and to encourage *de-la'tors* (informers) to bring accusations. Not only the suspicious temper of the prince but also the moral degradation of society made the delations terrible. Greed, hatred, enjoyment of bloodshed, — in brief, all vicious and criminal passions, — were at their height under the early empire. No one felt safe; for each rightly judged his neighbor by himself; and the emperor could hardly restrain the senate from condemning men for the most trivial offences.

312. Capri; the Character and Death of Tiberius (37 A.D.). — The first half of his reign he passed in Rome, the remainder in Cap'ri, a lovely island off the Bay of Naples. From this retreat he still watched over the government, while he left the direct management to Se-ja'nus, prefect of the pretorian guard. This man, too, conspired against the emperor, and suffered death for his treason.

Tiberius grew more and more hateful to the nobility and to the Roman mob. Not that he was especially cruel or vicious; he seems rather to have been a stern, unsympathetic man, whose motives the nobles did not wish to understand. He was unsocial, tactless, and economical, — qualities which would have made any emperor unpopular. Notwithstanding his faults, he was an able, conscientious ruler.

The reign of the next emperor, Ca-lig'u-la (37–41 A.D.), nephew of Germanicus and adopted son of Tiberius, was of little importance.

Beginning with Julius Caesar, each emperor thus far had adopted his successor. Although with the death of Caligula the rule passed to another family,[1] the name Caesar continued as an imperial title, and has even descended to the monarchs of two great modern states.[2]

[1] From the adoptive family of Tiberius and Caligula to the family of their birth — from the Julian to the Claudian.

[2] The Czar of Russia and the Kaiser of Germany.

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CAPRI
(The Villa of Tiberius was on the Summit.)

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Topics for Reading

I. Life and Achievements of Augustus. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. ix; Merivale, *Roman Triumvirates*, pp. 185–232; Capes, *Early Empire*, ch. i; Allcroft and Haydon, *Early Principate*, chs. i–vi.

II. Tiberius. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. ix; Allcroft and Haydon, chs. viii–x; Duruy, *History of Rome*, iv. pp. 401–494.

III. Vergil. — Mackail, *Latin Literature*, pp. 91–105; Cruttwell, *Roman Literature*, pp. 252–275; Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry*, ch. v.

IV. Livy. — Mackail, pp. 145–155; Cruttwell, pp. 322–331; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, i. pp. 384–415.



VENUS
(National Museum, Naples)

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CHAPTER X

THE CLAUDIAN AND THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS (41–96 A.D.)

FROM DYARCHY TO MONARCHY

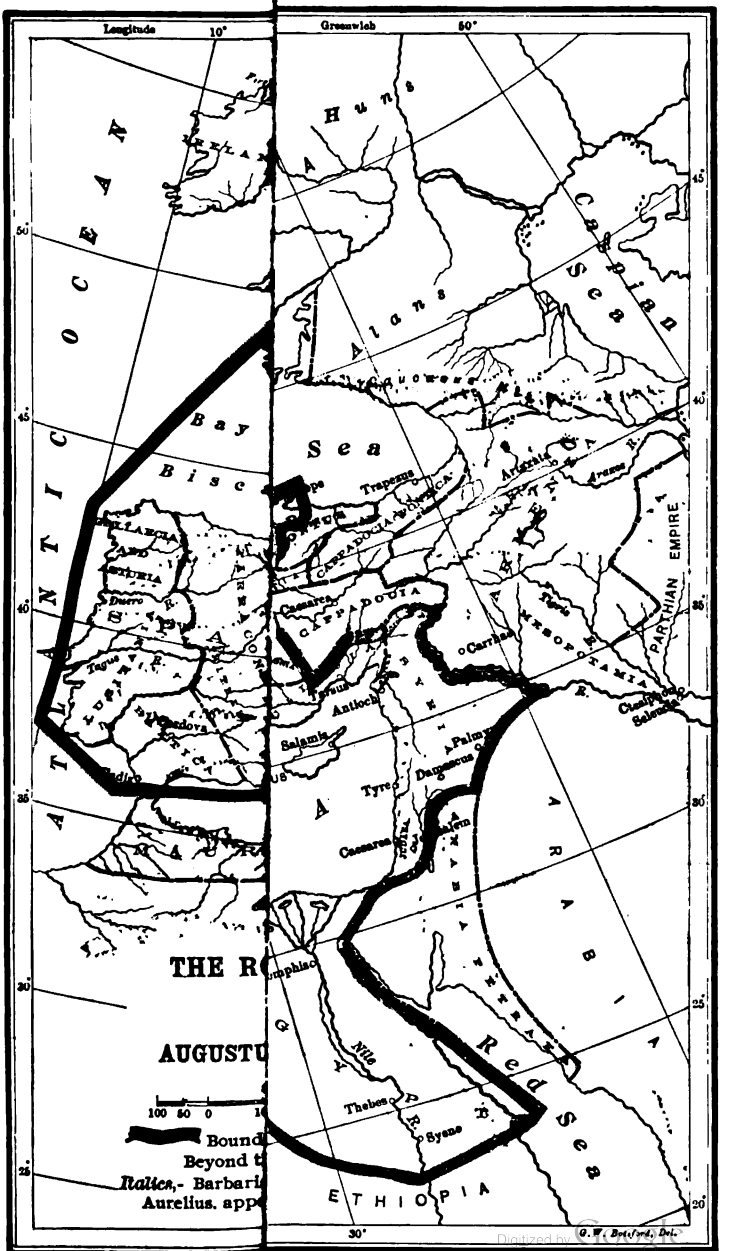
313. Claudius Emperor (41–54 A.D.). — The senate would have had the imperial government end with the Julian line; but while it was discussing the situation the pretorians made a new prince. Their nominee was Claudius, uncle of Caligula. Grotesque in manners and lacking mental balance, he was generally considered a learned fool. We are surprised, therefore, to find him making his reign the beginning of a new era.



CLAUDIUS
(National Museum, Naples)

Breaking with the policy of Augustus, he bestowed the Roman citizenship freely upon *provincials*. Thus he began the process of making the provinces equal with Italy and Rome. And in appointing governors of provinces, he used to say, "Do not thank me, for I do you no favor, but call you to share with me the burdens of government; and I shall thank you

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if you fulfil your duty well."[1] Mingled with this generosity and wisdom, was firmness in punishing offenders and in protecting the frontiers. One of his generals conquered southern Britain and made of it a Roman province.

His kindly temper shows itself in a law for the protection of sick and aged *slaves* from cruel treatment, and in his efforts to prevent famine in Rome. To supply the city with pure water, he built two magnificent aqueducts, one of which was the famous Claudia. Later emperors continued to build aqueducts, till all of them together poured into Rome more fresh water each day than the Tiber now empties into the sea.

Notwithstanding many plots against his life, he would have no informers or law of treason, but preferred to surround himself with soldiers, who even waited on his table, and accompanied him into the senate-house. Distrusting the nobles and the knights, he employed his own freedmen[2] as helpers and ministers. In this way and in others he attempted to make himself independent of the senate. Thus the balance of power between the senate and the prince was turning decidedly in favor of the latter. In other words, the dyarchy was developing into a monarchy.

314. Nero Emperor (54–68 A.D.). — His successor was Nero, the son of his wife A-grip-pi'na by a former marriage. As the new emperor was only seventeen years of age and showed more taste for dancing and music than for official work, the government for the first ten years of his reign was in the hands of Sen'e-ca, his tutor, and Bur'rus, pretorian prefect. Both were able men.

Seneca, a Spaniard by birth, was a philosopher of the *Stoic school*, which taught that virtue alone is sufficient for happiness, and that a man should rise above all passions and follow his reason. Man, it asserted, is lord of his own life and may end it when he thinks fit. This severe, practical philosophy suited well the character of the Romans. From the later republic to the adoption of Christianity,

[1] Dio Cassius lx. 11.

[2] § 366.

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many found in it a guide to self-discipline. Although Seneca lacked moral force, his intentions were good. Under him and Burrus the provinces were well governed; and a law of theirs permitted ill-treated slaves throughout the empire to bring their complaints before



AGRIPPINA — MOTHER OF NERO
(National Museum, Naples)

the magistrates. This provision marks a great advance in the improvement of mankind.

Burrus died in 62 A.D., and as Nero began to take the government into his own hands, Seneca retired to private life. Accused of sharing in a conspiracy, he killed himself by order of the emperor. The men of this age did not hesitate to die, but they knew not how to

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live and fight for freedom and principle. By recommending suicide, Stoicism aided tyranny.

The *personal rule* of Nero was a capricious despotism. But though he was vain and extravagant, his acts of cruelty were few. When a great fire destroyed the larger part of Rome, he sheltered and fed the sufferers, and helped rebuild their houses. The worst blot on his reign was the persecution of the Christians on the groundless suspicion that they had caused the mischief. Many were condemned. "Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to flames and burned to serve as a nightly illumination"[1] of the prince's gardens. The Romans, who as yet knew little of the Christians, considered them a sect of Jews, and despised them because they then belonged to the lowest class of society. Nero's persecution, however, was only a sudden outburst of ferocity which did not extend beyond the city.

But at last his tyranny reached the provinces and stirred up revolt. Gal'ba, governor of Hither Spain, was proclaimed emperor. Nero fled from the city and took refuge in a dingy cell provided by a freedman. A few attendants stood about him. "Some one show me how to die," he begged, but no one obeyed. The end was drawing near. The senate had declared him a public enemy, and he heard the tramp of approaching horses. "Pity that such an artist should die!" he said as he stabbed himself.

315. Vespasian Emperor (69–79 A.D.). — Galba was followed by O'tho, and Otho by Vi-tel'li-us. These three princes together reigned about a year. Otho was killed by the pretorians, and the other two in civil war. Then Ves-pa'si-an became emperor. He was a short, stumpy man, with large neck and hooked nose. Though a plebeian by birth, he was broad-minded, able, and experienced in public affairs.

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44. Nero was himself suspected of having set fire to the city, but with little reason.

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Among the many difficulties he had to meet on his accession the most serious was a *revolt of the Jews*. His son Titus besieged Jerusalem, their strongly fortified capital. As they refused to accept any terms offered them, no quarter was thereafter given. It was a war to death. The Jews believed that God would protect His holy temple, and that at the critical moment the Mes-si'ah would come to save His people from the oppressor and to make them rulers of the world. They fought therefore with fanatic zeal, and as famine threatened they even ate human flesh. When, after a five months' siege, the



THE COLOSSEUM OR FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE

Romans stormed the city and the temple, the Jews killed their wives, their children, and then one another as the lot determined, so that the victors found nothing but flames and death. More than a million Jews were destroyed during the siege; not a hundred thousand were taken captive (70 A.D.).

As the *nobles and the knights* were dying out, Vespasian recruited their ranks with new families from Italy and the provinces, — the best and the most loyal he could find. Looking upon the emperor as their patron, these provincials generally supported him. Hence the imperial government became more solidly established, and fewer conspiracies threatened it. During the late republic and early empire

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the society of Rome had been vicious and depraved; but the new families brought to the capital wholesome ideas and better morals. In fact their coming was the regeneration of Rome.

To repair the fortifications and other public works, which had long been neglected, Vespasian found it necessary to increase *the taxes*. But with careful management he had money left for education, for the help of unfortunate cities in the provinces, and for new buildings. The most famous of his works is an immense amphitheatre, usually known as the Col-os-se'um. It is said to have seated eighty-seven thousand spectators, and is the grandest building in Rome. In it the



A BODY FOUND IN POMPEII
(Museum of Pompeii)

Romans gathered to see the combats of gladiators, and of men and savage beasts. As he died before completing the work, it was finished by Titus.

316. Titus Emperor (79–81 A.D.). — Titus succeeded his father. His kindness toward citizens and subjects alike made him the most popular of the emperors, "the delight and the darling of mankind." Once at supper, remembering that he had favored no one during the day, he exclaimed, "My friends, I have lost a day!" As chief pontiff he thought it his duty to keep his hands pure; and accordingly after accepting that office he would condemn no man to death, however great might be the offence. In fact he was too indulgent

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to be just; this easy temper made his successor's task more difficult.

The chief event in his reign was an eruption of *Ve-su'vi-us.* For ages this volcano had been inactive, so that the Campanians had fearlessly covered its sides with vineyards. But in 79 A.D. a fearful eruption buried Pom-pei'i, a city of twenty thousand inhabitants, Her-cu-la'ne-um, and some smaller places. After eighteen centuries Pompeii has been unearthed. Its temples, shops, and dwellings, with their statues, wall-paintings, furniture, and tools, make real to us the life and civilization of the ancients.

317. Domitian Emperor (81–96 A.D.). — After ruling but two years Titus died and was succeeded by Do-mi'ti-an, his younger brother. Though the empire was rarely at peace, the reign of Domitian is especially noted for wars along the northern frontier. A-gric'o-la, an able general, extended the boundary of the province of Britain to Cal-e-do'ni-a, the modern Scotland. The emperor himself took the field against the Germans. Still later the Da'cians, who lived north of the Danube and who were fast adopting Roman civilization, invaded the empire. In his war with them Domitian met with so little success that he granted them favorable terms of peace, and gave their chief valuable presents, which the enemies of the prince maliciously termed tribute.

Domitian was a *firm ruler.* Able men commanded on the frontier, and the provinces were probably never better ruled than under him. An autocrat by nature, he tried to gain entire control of the government and to put the senate beneath him. The discovery of a conspiracy in which many senators shared inflamed him against them. From that time to his death he was a terror to the nobility. But at last a plot developed in his own household. His wife Domitia, fearing for her own safety, induced some servants and pretorians to murder him.

"Like their god Janus, the Roman emperors have a double face." In estimating their character we must bear in mind that the one

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most hateful to the nobility was often the most just and merciful protector of the provinces. So it was with Domitian. The aristocratic historian has branded him a tyrant; if the subject nations could speak, they would bless his memory.

318. Literature under the Claudian and Flavian Emperors (41–96 A.D.). — After the reign of Augustus literature declined. Most writers, considering a simple style insipid, sought to attract attention by rhetorical bombast, far-fetched metaphors, and other unnatural devices.

Seneca, the philosopher, shared with his age the striving after brilliancy in language. Nevertheless he gives evidence of the broader, deeper thought which the provinces were bringing Rome. A great improvement in this direction came with the Flavian princes, who patronized literature and introduced fresh life from the provinces. In this age Plin'y the Elder wrote a *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. In addition to the natural sciences, it included geography, medicine, and art. What Pliny did for science Quintil'i-an, a native of Spain, achieved for rhetoric. His *Training of the Orator*, in twelve books, gives a complete course in rhetoric, beginning with the boy and ending with the well-equipped public speaker. The work is valuable, not only for the famous author's principles of rhetoric, but also for his opinions of the leading Greek and Latin writers.

Topics for Reading

I. Claudius. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x; Capes, *Early Empire*, ch. iv; Allcroft and Haydon, *Early Principate*, ch. xii; Duruy, *History of Rome*, iv. pp. 514–570.

II. The Burning of Rome and the Christians. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x; Duruy, *History of Rome*, v. pp. 1–16.

III. The Jewish War and the Destruction of Jerusalem. — Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x; Capes, pp. 152–156; Allcroft and Haydon, ch. xvii; Duruy, *History of Rome*, v. pp. 108–133.

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CHAPTER XI

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS (96–180 A.D.)

THE LIMITED MONARCHY

319. Nerva Emperor (96–98 A.D.). — As soon as the senate heard of the death of Domitian, it appointed as prince one of its members named Ner'va, who was about sixty-five years old, and whose life had been blameless. The senate now became reconciled to the imperial form of government, and received from the new emperor assurances that it should have a fair share of influence and power. This happy agreement resulted in an era of good feeling which lasted through five successive reigns. Nerva put an end to the law of treason, which Domitian had revived. He then advised his subjects to forget past wrongs in the happy present. But like Titus he was too amiable to be a just and vigorous ruler. When he found himself unable to control the pretorians, he adopted as his son and successor the able general Tra'jan, then commander in Upper Germany, a province on the Rhine.



NERVA IN HIS CONSULAR ROBE
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

320. Trajan Emperor (98–117 A.D.); his Wars. — On the death of Nerva, Trajan became emperor. He was born in Spain, and was

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therefore the first provincial emperor. In contrast, too, with the earlier emperors, who were uniformly peaceful, Trajan was ambitious for conquest. In two wars he subdued Dacia, a great country north of the Danube, and converted it into a Roman province a thousand miles in circuit. The work of settlement followed rapidly upon the conquest. While the emperor found land here for his veterans, other colonists poured into the province from various parts of the empire. Engineers, architects, and workmen built roads and fortresses. Miners found iron and gold in the mountains. The province soon became thoroughly Roman in character. Trajan's column still stands in Rome as a memorial of this conquest.



THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN

A few years afterward the emperor attempted the *conquest of the East*. One of his generals had already made a province of north-western Arabia. Trajan himself took the field against the Parthians. He drove them from Armenia,

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where they were trying to set up a vassal king. After converting the country into a Roman province, he marched through the Parthian empire as far as the Tigris River. Then he followed the river to the Persian Gulf. Meantime the provinces he had hastily established about the Tigris and Euphrates fell to pieces, and their population rose against him. His return march, in which he pretended to suppress the revolt, was in fact a disastrous retreat. He died in Cilicia on his way to Rome.



PLOTINA, WIFE OF TRAJAN
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

321. His Administration. — We shall now return to his administration. Following Nerva's policy, he treated the senators as his equals, and introduced the ballot, that they might feel perfectly free in voting. But though they talked much, the emperor granted them less actual power than they had enjoyed under Augustus. The consuls, too, had lost much of their importance, as their term had been gradually reduced to two months. The monarchy was still growing at the expense of the republican institutions.

This increasing power of the emperor appeared in *Italy* and in the *provinces* as well as in Rome. When the finances of a town fell into disorder, Trajan would send it an agent to control its accounts. Such an imperial officer gradually usurped authority until, after a century or two, he deprived the town of self-government. In Tra-

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jan's time, however, the institution was only helpful. To recruit the wasting population of Italy, Trajan lent the towns considerable money which they were to invest on the security of land, that they might have the interest to use for the support and education of poor children. At one time in his reign we find the towns providing thus for five thousand children. Though the avowed object was to rear soldiers for the armies, the institution was humane; we see in it a sign of the moral improvement of mankind.

Trajan encouraged wealthy men over all the empire to will property to their towns to be used for *public works*. Accordingly in every part of what was once the Roman world the traveller now finds the ruins of bridges, aqueducts, and public buildings which date from this prosperous era. Although the emperor aided such works, the provinces, the towns, and private persons furnished the greater share of the cost.

His administration was energetic, just, and humane. He had the strength to punish evil-doers; he repealed oppressive taxes; and costly as were his wars and his public buildings, he laid no new burdens on his people. His wife Plo-ti'na was as frugal and as thrifty as he. Like Livia, she was the emperor's able helper, and when he died, her tact brought to the throne the man who had stood highest in her husband's favor.

322. Hadrian Emperor (117–138 A.D.). — The heir was Ha'dri-an, a general and provincial governor of great ability and a scholar. Two-thirds of his reign he spent in travelling through the provinces. His first object was to cultivate friendship with the border nations. And to maintain peace without increasing the army, he found it necessary to abandon all his predecessor's conquests excepting Dacia and Arabia.

Another object was to improve the *armies and the frontier defences*. He banished harmful pleasures from the camps; he dismissed boy officers, who had received appointments through favoritism; and, in his own words, he restored "the discipline of Augustus." Under

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him the armies were so well exercised and trained that they could perform wonderful labors in marching and in building. Among his frontier defences the best known is the so-called Wall of Hadrian, which extends across northern Britain from near the mouth of the Tyne to Solway Firth. It consisted of two parallel moats and walls strengthened by a series of turrets, castles, and camps. Equally important was his completion of the defences between the Rhine and the Danube. By such fortifications as well as by his



THE TOMB OF HADRIAN
(The Tiber in the foreground)

military reforms, he gave the empire new strength for resisting the assaults of the barbarians.

Throughout the empire he built temples, theatres, and aqueducts. Finally by devoting so much of his time to the provinces, he showed clearly that he considered them more important even than Rome and Italy.

The amount of public business in the hands of the prince had

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greatly increased since Augustus. Before Hadrian the members of the emperor's household and occasionally knights had helped in this work without being recognized as public officials. To him, however, is chiefly due the creation of a *civil service*, — a complex system of offices, with special functions for each, and with regular promotions from the lowest to the highest. The knights alone were employed in these duties. The emperor needed especially a great number of revenue officials, for he had abolished the farming of taxes and had undertaken to collect them directly. Remitting all taxes due on his accession, he publicly burned the old accounts.

By his thorough reforms he put the machinery of government, as well as the military system, in such good order that it continued to run with little repair for more than a hundred years.

323. Antoninus Pius Emperor (138–161 A.D.). — An-to-ni'nus, surnamed Pius, the heir of Hadrian, was a man of estimable character who loved justice and peace. His reign is noted for humane legislation. Especially he limited the right of the master to torture his slaves for the purpose of extorting evidence; and he originated the legal principle on which all trials are now conducted throughout the civilized world, that an accused person should be considered innocent till proved guilty. Enlarging on the charitable policy of Trajan, he set aside an endowment for orphan girls, whom he called Faus-tin-i-a'nae, after his wife Faus-ti'na. His long reign, unmarked by events, was prosperous and happy.

324. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Emperor (161–180 A.D.). — When he died the imperial powers passed to Marcus Au-re'li-us, his adopted son. This emperor associated with himself as colleague Lucius Ve'rus, his brother by adoption; so that Rome was ruled for a time by two Augusti. Verus sought only pleasure; Aurelius was a Stoic philosopher, whose chief aim was to do his duty toward his fellow-men. But he had little time to give to books and meditation; for the easy disposition of his predecessor had left him a great legacy of troubles. On his accession, he found war brewing along the

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northern and eastern frontiers. The troops of Syria had grown too effeminate to resist the invading Parthians; but fortunately there were good generals in the East, the ablest of whom was A-vid'i-us Cassius. A Syrian by birth, but of the old Roman type of severity, he put the licentious troops on coarse rations, burned the dis-



MARCUS AURELIUS IN HIS TRIUMPHAL CAR
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome)

obedient, and restored discipline. He defeated the Parthians, overran their country, and compelled them to sue for peace. Rome retained a part of Mes-o-po-ta'mi-a.

Meantime a fearful *pestilence* was raging in the East; and as the troops returned from the war, they spread the disease over the eastern

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half of the empire and over Italy itself. It weakened the army; in some places, as in Italy, it carried off perhaps half the population; and the efforts to relieve it so drained the treasury that the prince lacked funds for the defence of the empire. The enemies of Rome were growing formidable. All Europe beyond the frontier was full of restless tribes, which threatened the civilized countries of the Mediterranean. The Parthian war was scarcely over when they broke into the empire in a continuous line from northern Italy to the farthest limits of Dacia. The leaders were the Mar-co-man'ni, a powerful Teutonic nation who lived in what is now Bo-he'mi-a, and who gave their name to the war.

Both emperors took the field, and when Verus died in the following year, Aurelius continued the war alone. After seven years of hard fighting he won an honorable peace, which, however, was broken while he was engaged in putting down a revolt of Avidius Cassius in the East. As soon as he had finished this work, he returned to the Danube, and reconquered the Marcomanni. He was about to make their country into a province when death cut short his work.

In his administration he followed the lines marked out by his predecessor. Especially interesting is his treatment of the Christians.

325. Christianity and the Empire (to 180 A.D.). — Christianity arose in Judea, but St. Peter carried it early to the "Gentiles," and St. Paul preached it even in Rome. Everywhere the lower classes eagerly accepted a faith which esteemed the slave equal to the emperor. Under this dispensation the humblest on earth were the greatest saints, and all who shared in it enjoyed the comforting hope of eternal happiness.

During the first century of our era, the followers of Christ attracted little attention. The learned and the powerful alike considered them unworthy of notice, and the government, which protected the public worship of all the races within the empire, and adopted many of their gods as her own, included the Christians with the Jews. Under

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the good emperors, however, as the Church grew more numerous and powerful, it began to appear a menace to existing society and government. Unlike the Romans, the Christians were intolerant of all other forms of religion and exceedingly aggressive in making new converts; for they were under a commandment to bring the whole world into their faith. To keep themselves free from idolatry they refused to associate with others in social and public festivities, an attitude which won for them the evil name of "haters of mankind." In like manner their refusal to worship the *Genius*, or guardian spirit, of the emperor was naturally construed as impiety and treason. The government, always suspicious of secret meetings, could see nothing but danger in those of the Christians, whose church was, in fact, a great secret society with branches in every city and town. A class of people, too, who objected to military service seemed useless to the state. These were the chief reasons why they were persecuted.

The civil authorities throughout the empire proceeded, accordingly, to *punish the Christians* for real or imaginary offences against law and order. We find Trajan, however, giving instructions not to hunt them down or to receive anonymous charges against them, but to condemn those only who were openly known as Christians. Milder treatment no one could expect. Hadrian discouraged persecution, and made informers responsible for any outbreaks their accusations might cause. His successor, the gentle Antoninus Pius, though a restorer of the ancient religion, himself persecuted no one. Nevertheless in his reign popular hatred forced the magistrates in some of the cities to torture and kill prominent Christians.

Under Marcus Aurelius a change came for the worse. As popular dislike of the Christians excited tumults in many cities, he ordered those who confessed the faith to be beaten to death. This measure he regarded as necessary to the peace of the empire; otherwise he paid the Christians little attention. Their trouble came chiefly from the people, who regarded them with superstitious hatred. Pestilence, famine, and other calamities demanded victims; and accordingly the

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mob raged at the Christians. Riots broke out against them in Lyons. Here as elsewhere their enemies asserted, on mere rumor, that in their religious meetings they were guilty of gross immorality and feasted on children! One of the new faith writes, "First we were driven away from the baths, buildings, and all places open to the public; then we had to suffer the insults, blows, and violent acts of an infuriated multitude." Holding the Christians responsible for the disturbance, the authorities began to torture them and to throw them to the beasts in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the spectators. By this means many perished. One of the number, Blan-di'na, a slave, who took the part of mother to her fellow-sufferers, is now revered in Lyons as a saint. In other places similar scenes were enacted. So far from helping the empire, however, or its decaying gods, persecution strengthened the new faith and made it more aggressive.

Culture[1]

326. Literature (96–180 A.D.). — The age of the good emperors produced the last great writers of classic Latin, Tac'i-tus and Ju've-nal. The *Annals* and the *Histories*[2] of Tacitus covered the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Domitian. Besides these larger works he wrote a monograph on the *Life and Character of Agricola*, the conqueror of Britain, and another, the *Ger-ma'ni-a*, on the character and institutions of the Germans of his time. His experience as an army officer and a statesman gave him a clear understanding of military and political events. He was conscientious, too, and we may trust his statement of all facts which were known to the public. His style is exceedingly rapid, vivid, and energetic. His

[1] Those teachers who wish to follow the political narrative without interruption may omit §§ 326, 327.

[2] Of the *Annals* we have Bks. i–iv, parts of v and vi, and xi–xvi, with gaps at the beginning and end of this last group of books; of the *Histories* there remain Bks. i–iv, and the first half of v.

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excellences as an historian, however, are balanced by serious defects. He belonged to the strictest circle of aristocrats, who looked upon all the emperors from Tiberius to Domitian as usurpers and tyrants. Hence he was unfair in judging the motives of these rulers. Like the historian, Juvenal, author of *Satires*, was powerful and dramatic. In the spirit of Tacitus he looked back to the society of Rome under Nero and Domitian, to discover in it nothing but hideous vice. But if we allow for his gross exaggeration, we shall find his writings a storehouse of information about the manners, customs, and morals of the age.

The *Letters* of Pliny the Younger, a nephew of the elder Pliny, are valuable for the study of the times, but show a decline in style. The *Lives of the Cæsars* from Julius to Domitian, by Sue-to'ni-us, Hadrian's secretary, is a chaotic mixture of useful facts and foolish gossip. The *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius is one of the best and noblest of books. It contains the ripest fruit of Graeco-Roman philosophy.

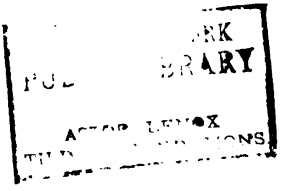
A revival of Hellenic literature in this age produced some authors of unusual merit. Ap'pi-an of Alexandria wrote a narrative *History of Rome*, which we find very useful. In this age, too, Pausanias compiled his *Tour of Greece*, which describes the classic monuments of that country. "Above all Plutarch wrote his immortal *Lives*, perhaps the most widely and permanently attractive book by one author known to the world."[1] While the Greeks were producing literature, they did not neglect science. Ga'len, a physician of Marcus Aurelius, wrote many works on anatomy and medicine. Ptol'e-my published a system of astronomy, in which he represented the earth as the centre of the universe. His views were accepted for more than a thousand years, till they were superseded by those of Co-per'ni-cus (1473–1543 A.D.).

327. Public Works; Sculpture and Painting. — The activity of the good emperors in erecting public works both at Rome and in the provinces has already been noticed.[2]

[1] Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 395 f.

[2] § 321 f.

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THE HALL OF THE EMPERORS
(National Museum, Naples.)

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From early times there were Romans who busied themselves with sculpture and painting as well as with architecture. Few Roman sculptors are known to us by name, though we possess a multitude of their works. The reason is, that they aimed to express in bronze and marble the personality of others rather than of themselves. Among their most famous works are the busts and statues of emperors, statesmen, and other eminent persons. These portrait sculptures are spirited and masterly, and so true to life that we may feel



A ROMAN BRIDGE
(Toledo, Spain)

certain we know how the great men of Rome looked. Still more characteristic of the nation are the narrative reliefs traced on public buildings, triumphal arches, and columns; they are chiselled picture-books of Roman marches, sieges, and victories.

In painting the Romans surpassed the Greeks. The wall-paintings of Pompeii must have been largely the work of artisans rather than of artists; and yet they show an endless variety of graceful forms wrought with great skill and many of them delicately finished. Some

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are mythical scenes, others are from daily life. The painting as well as the architecture and sculpture of the Romans aids us greatly in understanding their life and character.

Topics for Reading

I. The Prosperity of the Empire under the Antonines. — Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. ii.

II. Hadrian's Travels. — Capes, *Age of the Antonines*, pp. 55–62; Duruy, *History of Rome*, v. pp. 344–390.

III. Christianity and the Empire. — Capes, ch. vi: Duruy v. pp. 493–512.

IV. Architecture. — Reber, *History of Ancient Art*, pp. 413–447; Hamlin, *History of Architecture*, chs. viii, ix; Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, pp. 73–112.

V. Sculpture. — Perry, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, chs. xlviii–lv; Marquand and Frothingham, *History of Sculpture*, ch. xiii; Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, chs. ii, iii.

VI. Painting. — Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, chs. iv, v; Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Ancient, Early Christian, and Mediaeval Painting*, pp. 110–142; Van Dyke, *History of Painting*, pp. 32–35.

Topics iv–vi are not restricted to a special period.

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THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

CHAPTER XII

FROM COMMODUS TO AURELIAN (180–284 A.D.)

ROME BEGINS TO DECLINE — THE GROWTH OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

328. Commodus (180–193); the Rule of the Pretorian Guard. — Com'mo-dus, the son and successor of Aurelius, was a weak-minded young man, easily misled by vile companions. While he pursued base pleasures and fought wild beasts in the amphitheatre, the empire began to decline. The soldiers lost discipline along with their respect for their ruler. The provinces were misgoverned, and the

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capital was at the mercy of the pretorians, who were no longer under control. After twelve years of such government, at once weak and savage, Commodus was murdered. The *pretorian guard*, established for the security of the prince,[1] had now grown into a large standing army. Gradually discovering their own importance, these troops lost discipline and became haughty and violent. They overawed the senate; they terrorized Rome; and the emperor was at their mercy. Pampered especially by Commodus, they murdered his successor, and then sold the vacant office to the highest bidder. When news of this disgraceful event reached the soldiers on the frontier, it made them indignant, for the emperor was their general and they were the primary source of his power.[2] Accordingly the armies in Syria, on the Danube, and in Britain nominated their own commanders to the office of emperor, and each prepared to enforce its will by arms. Sep-tim'i-us Se-ve'rus, commander on the Danube and nearest to Rome, won the prize.

329. Septimius Severus (193–211); Caracalla (211–217 A.D.). — Severus was a firm, clear-headed man who knew well the needs of the empire. He restored order in Rome, conquered and killed his rivals for the throne, and humbled foreign enemies. As his authority rested upon the armies, he did not hesitate to slight the senate. Under him, therefore, this body lost much of the influence it had enjoyed in the preceding period; in fact his reign marks an important step in the direction of absolute monarchy. His policy was supported by the lawyers who formed his council. Pa-pin'i-an, the ablest of Roman jurists, lived at this time, and held the office of pretorian prefect. Ul'pi-an was scarcely less eminent. Through them and their associates Roman law reached the height of development.

[1] § 308.

[2] It must be borne in mind that the army had overthrown the republic, and had placed its general (*imperator*) at the head of the government. The early emperors found constitutional support for their authority, but in the period which we are now considering they were leaning more and more upon the armies.

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The legislation of these great jurists benefited the whole empire; for even before the death of Severus most of *the provincials* were Roman citizens under the protection of Roman law. This emperor aimed to place the provinces on a level with Italy. Julius Caesar had begun the policy of granting the citizenship freely to the provincials; and though Augustus preferred to keep the provinces inferior to Italy, Claudius zealously followed in the footsteps of Julius. The emperors after Claudius continued his liberal policy till, at the death of Severus, few non-citizens remained. *Car-a-cal'la, son and successor of Severus, completed the work of centuries by making all the freemen of the empire Romans* (211 A.D.). Under Severus, however, military service and special taxes on citizens had grown oppressive; and the men whom Caracalla made Romans had to take upon themselves the burdens of citizenship in addition to those they had borne as subjects. Thus the benefit was offset by disadvantages. In fact the author of the reform cared only for his soldiers; toward all others he was recklessly brutal. He, too, was murdered.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

330. Alexander Severus (222–235); the New Persian Empire. — Passing by two emperors[1] of little importance, we come to Alex-

[1] Ma-cri'nus (217–218) and El-a-gab'a-lus (218–222 B.C.).

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only in his respect for the senate, but also in his patronage of education, in his attention to the needs of the poor, and in his mildness and justice, Alexander was a faint imitation of the good emperors. He was too weak, however, to maintain discipline among the soldiers or to defend the empire.

In his reign a new danger to the Roman world arose in the East. From the time of Trajan the Parthian empire had declined. *The*



SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS AND HIS MOTHER
(Capitoline Museum, Rome)

Persians, still a vigorous race, asserted their independence, and in 227 A.D. Ar-tax-erx'es, their king, overthrew the Parthian monarch and made the empire Persian. He had been instructed in the religion of Zoroaster;[1] and the eighty thousand magians, or priests, of this worship supported him in his effort to put down every other form of religion throughout the empire. Their fervor strengthened the monarch and inspired him with zeal for making conquests in the

[1] § 28.

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interest of his god. At the same time his tale gave him a military power which the East had many generations.

Ordered to give up his Asiatic provinces to Alexander Severus went to war, but was disgracefu forth the Persian empire threatened Rome; it weaken the northern defences in order to m Euphrates, at a time when the German races invasion.

After his conflict with Persia, Alexander took t Germans on the Rhine. There he was murder The pretorian guard had already killed Ulpian, were terrorizing the government as well as the Thus a reign, in some respects happy, ended in f twilight before a period of gloom.

331. Drifting into Anarchy (235–284 A.D.).– century which followed the death of Alexande suffered continual violence, as emperors rapid Sometimes two colleagues shared in harmony t more frequently, rivals for the throne involved war; rarely did a wearer of the purple die a nat the middle of this period of confusion the em falling into fragments; each army nominated its highest office, and these rival pretenders, wron misnamed the "Thirty Tyrants," brought the anarchy.

While civil war wasted the empire and drew th frontier, *the enemies of Rome* met with their f assailing her. On the north the Goths, a Germa dering Moe'si-a and Macedonia, defeated and Decius (268 A.D.). At nearly the same time thei the Franks on the lower Rhine, pushed across desolated Gaul. Soon afterward, King Sa'por, th

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world seemed defenceless. The Al-e-man'ni, of Germanic race, flung themselves upon northern Italy, and in combination with them a vast horde of Goths, including women and children, crossed the Danube to seek homes within the provinces. Fortunately at this crisis Rome found an able ruler in Marcus Aurelius Claudius



THE WALL OF AURELIAN

(268–270 A.D.), who drove back the Alemanni and destroyed the invading host of Goths.

His successor, *Au-re'li-an* (270–275 A.D.), withdrew the last garrisons from Dacia, — which he gave over to the Goths, — and brought the boundary once more to the Danube. This was the first territory lost to the empire. As the barbarians began to threaten the capital itself, he surrounded it with a wall, which is still standing, — a magnificent work, yet a monument of the weakness and decay of Rome. Two great fragments had recently broken from the empire: in the East, Queen Ze-no'bi-a, from her splendid

court in Pal-my'ra, ruled Syria, Egypt, and a large part of Asia Minor; in the West, the senator Tet'ri-cus was emperor of Gaul, Britain, and northern Spain. By conquering both these pretenders, however, Aurelian restored the unity of the Roman world. These achievements brought the empire to a condition which enabled it to endure for a few more years, till Di-o-cle'ti-an, a still abler man, put on the purple.

Topics for Reading

Septimius Severus. — Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. v; Duruy, *History of Rome*, vi. pp. 476–577; see Indices of other histories of Rome.



A Capital from One of the Temples in Palmyra
(Temple ruins in the background)

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CHAPTER XIII

FROM DIOCLETIAN TO CONSTANTINE (284–337 A.D.)

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE — ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

332. Diocletian (284–305 A.D.). — A freedman's son and a soldier by profession, Diocletian made his way to the imperial office by genius and force of will. He devoted twenty-one laborious years to the work of reorganizing and strengthening the empire.

He first chose as colleague Max-im'i-an, a rough but able soldier. Although each emperor bore the title Augustus, Diocletian remained superior. They divided the Roman world between them, Diocletian taking the East and his colleague the West. Later two Caesars, Ga-le'ri-us and Con-stan'ti-us Chlo'rus, were appointed as heirs of the Augusti. Each of the Caesars received likewise the administration of a definite territory. Retaining the extreme East for himself, Diocletian gave Galerius the provinces on and near the Danubian boundary; Maximian governed Italy, Africa, and Spain; and Constantius, Gaul and Britain. Thus the most dangerous and laborious posts were assigned to the Caesars.

Each[1] of the four rulers chose a convenient city for his capital and appointed a pretorian prefect to aid him in administering the civil affairs of his district, which was named therefore a prefecture. They divided the four great prefectures into twelve dioceses, which they placed under vicegerents. The dioceses consisted each of several small provinces, of which there were now more than a hundred in all. The provinces had their governors, who in turn commanded the service of a host of lower officials. As a rule the provincial governors obeyed the vicegerents, who received their orders from the prefects, each of whom, in turn, was under a Caesar or an Augustus. Military and civil duties were now distinct. Correspond-

[1] § 78, n. 2.

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bay of Biscay
Sea
Alans
Sinope
Antioch
Palmyra
Euphrates R.
Nile R.
Red Sea
ARABIA
PERSIA
EMPIRE
Cadiz
Cordova
New Carthage
Tagus R.
Douro R.
THE ROM
DIOCLETIAN
SCALE
100 50 0 100

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ing with the civil offices just mentioned were masters of troops, dukes, counts, and lesser military officials. The nobles who filled the higher civil and military positions were the Honorable, the Respectable, and the Illustrious. Above the Illustrious was the rank of Caesar, and highest of all, Augustus was Most Sacred Lord. The latter wore a crown and a silken robe which sparkled with jewels and gold. He claimed to be a god, and compelled his subjects to prostrate themselves before him. In this way he aimed to place his authority on the basis of divine right. All parts of the empire were now politically equal. As Rome ceased to be the capital, the senate became a city council, and Italy was divided into provinces.



THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

The new organization of the Roman government and society here outlined was mainly the work of Diocletian, though it began before him and received additional touches later from Con'stan-tine the Great.

The empire was enjoying peace and good order in 305 A.D., when Diocletian resigned his authority and compelled Maximian, his colleague, to do the same. Thereupon the two Caesars became Augusti, and new Caesars were appointed to take the place of the old. Immediately Diocletian's system, in most respects admirable, proved

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the senior Augustus lacked the means of holding his colleague and the Caesars to their respective duties. These high magistrates, together with other aspirants for power who arose from time to time, involved the Roman world in civil wars, till Constantine, known to history as the Great, the son of Constantius Chlorus, became emperor of the West and Licinius of the East (312 and 313 A.D.).

333. Constantine sole Emperor (323–337 A.D.); Christianity. — A few years afterward Constantine put his colleague to death and became sole emperor (323 A.D.). His reign was marked by two important events, — the public recognition of Christianity, and the selection of Byzantium as the capital of the empire.

Notwithstanding all opposition *the Church* had grown rapidly since Marcus Aurelius. The last and severest persecution began under Diocletian and was carried on by Galerius, his successor in the East. When at length Galerius saw that he could by no means destroy the Christians or suppress their faith, he granted them toleration and requested their prayers for his welfare. On the other hand Constantius Chlorus, emperor of the West, had favored them from the beginning; and his policy was inherited by his son. Though the Christians still formed a small minority — possibly a twentieth — of the population, for two reasons they were remarkably strong: (1) whereas the pagans were lukewarm in the interest of their gods and of their political leaders, the Christians were energetic and zealous; (2) they had a thorough *organization*, patterned after that of the State.

In the beginning each congregation had been independent. It had its officers: deacons, who cared for the poor; elders, or presbyters, who as the council of the church looked after its interests; and an overseer, or bishop, the chief of the presbyters. In course of time, as the church of a given city sent out branches to neighboring towns and rural districts, the bishop of the parent community came to have authority over a group of congregations. Again, among the bishops of the age of Constantine, some differences of rank and of influence were already appearing, while the bishop of Rome was acquiring the greatest influence of all. In



too, the Christian world was learning to act in unison. Th
province frequently met in council; and sometimes a g
much larger area. Thus the tendency to centralization w
Church.

Constantine saw the advantage he might deri
of this powerful organization. Accordingly h
313 A.D., issued their famous *Edict of Mi-lan'*, w
tion to all religions, without exception, and raise
equal footing with paganism. Constantine himse
faith, and encouraged it rather than the old.
that his avowed conversion improved his charac
to be what he had been, — a man without hea
pagan perhaps than Christian, ready to serve him
bloodshed. Nevertheless, as a far-sighted statesr
sistently for the best interests of the empire.

In his time the Church was becoming more and mo
over points of belief. The leaders of the Church, especi
tempting to build up an intricate theology, patterned aft
Greeks. Naturally they differed on many points. The c
was that between two Church officials of Egypt, — *Ath-a*
concerning the nature of Christ. Although both admitte
God, Arius maintained that the Son was by nature infe
the other hand, Athanasius asserted absolute equality b
Father. In order to strengthen the Church by securing
this as well as on other points, Constantine called a co
parts of the world to meet at Ni-cae'a, a city in northwest
the disputes and to decide upon a creed which all shou
the view of Athanasius, the council made it orthodox, wl
became a heresy. The West readily accepted the Nicen
is called; and in this manner it has come down to the
and to most of the Protestant denominations of to-day;
widespread in the East.

The council of Nicaea was the first gathering which p
entire Christian world. The institution of such a gener
casion demanded, added greatly to the power of the Cl
paganism.

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Constantine took a step next in importance to the recognition of Christianity, when he chose as his residence the Greek city of Byzantium, henceforth named *Con-stan-ti-no'ple* after himself. It was admirably situated for commerce, and was much nearer than Rome to the frontiers of the Danube and the Euphrates, which especially needed defence. As the East and the West were drifting apart, it was necessary that each division should have a capital and a stable government. The removal of the capital helped diminish the importance of declining Rome.

334. Causes of the Decline of Rome: (1) Economic and Social. — Diocletian and Constantine made the imperial government stronger and more effective, but did nothing to arrest the economic and social decay. As early as the Samnite Wars,[1] slavery began to destroy the freemen; during the late republic and the empire foreign and civil wars continued to thin the population, while the increasing burden of taxation made life every day more wretched. Under Diocletian's system the growing splendor of the imperial courts added to the burden. With their scant means many found it impossible to support families; and even the slaves grew fewer. Most of the lower classes, free and slave, became hereditary serfs — *coloni* — bound to the soil and to the payment of fixed dues to their lords.

But it was not only the poor who suffered. The *cities* had once enjoyed freedom in local affairs, each governed by a senate, whose members were the wealthier men of the community. Gradually the emperors had encroached upon the liberty of these cities, till they had converted even the privileges of the senators into intolerable burdens. For as these officials were responsible for the taxes due from their districts, many of them, unable to wring the required amount from the poorer classes, were themselves reduced to poverty. They were held for life by an iron hand to the work of collecting and of paying oppressive taxes. Artisans and traders, too, were bound strictly to their hereditary vocations, in order that the government

[1] § 237.

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might be sure of the dues to which they were subject. In brief, society had been forced into a rigid caste system, which crushed freedom and made the life of rich and poor, bond and free, almost equally wretched.

335. Causes of the Decline of Rome: (2) The Germans and the Christians. — Under these conditions the people, especially of the interior provinces, had grown unwarlike, incapable of defending themselves against the barbarians. For centuries they had been unused to arms. The government therefore found it more and more necessary to make up the armies of Germans, who consequently settled in the empire in ever increasing numbers. These people readily adopted those features of Roman life and civilization which were suited to their nature, but they were too independent to submit to the iron government or to the rigid social system of Rome. At the same time the Christians, who began to include many Germans, were naturally hostile to a government and society based on idolatry. Gradually they, like the Germans, began to undermine the worn-out parts of the old system and to impress their own character on what remained. In this way *the Christians and Germans were transforming the ancient pagan empire of the Romans into the mediaeval Christian empire of the Germans.*

In the period we are now considering (284–337 A.D.), this change was going on quietly under the protection chiefly of German troops on the outposts of the empire. But the wisest men could not know how soon these defences would fall before the barbarian tempest which was to sweep across the frontier.

The Decline of Culture

336. Language, Literature, and Art (after 180 A.D.). — The Romans now lost both taste and creative ability. Their language itself, mixed more and more with the German, began to decline. In trying to speak Latin, the foreigners corrupted it into dialects,

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which in time became the Romance languages, — chiefly the Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Apart from the Christian writers and the jurists there were no eminent authors.

Public works, though still built on a grand scale, show the same lack of creative power. As a type of Roman baths we may take those of Diocletian. This structure covered an area of over twenty-five acres. Besides the vast swimming tank it contained three thousand marble basins, and included a library, club-rooms, gardens, and gymnasia. Baths of this kind were a great temptation to idle-



THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE

ness and dissipation. Much of this building has been destroyed; but the ruins which remain have been converted into a church, charitable and educational institutions, and a museum of ancient Roman art.

Two triumphal arches of this period are still standing. That of Septimius Severus at the northwest corner of the Forum is majestic and original; that of Constantine near the Colosseum is partly made up of material stolen from an earlier work. Constantine's Basilica, whose ruins stand on the north side of the Sacred Way,[1] is the largest

[1] p. 386.

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and grandest of the kind. Unfortunately this emperor encouraged the practice of tearing down fine old public works for the material they contained. This practice did more than anything else to destroy the monuments of ancient Rome.

Topic for Reading

Christianity and the Empire. — Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, ch. ix; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. pp. 556–573; Duruy, *History of Rome*, vii. pp. 472–520; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, ch. iii; Bruce, *Gesta Christi*, chs. ii–x.



A FOUNTAIN
(Palace of the Conservatori, Rome)

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THE ROMAN FORUM

(In the immediate foreground is the Temple of Vespasian; beyond the road on the left is the Arch of Septimius Severus: on the right the Temple of Saturn, beyond which is the Basilica Julia, and still farther the three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux; above the latter are trees growing on the Palatine Mount. Near the Temple of Castor and Pollux is the foundation of the Temple of Vesta, and farther, on the top of the ridge, we can see the Arch of Titus.)

CHAPTER XIV

THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS AND THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE IN THE WEST (337-476 A.D.)

337. The Sons of Constantine (337); Julian "the Apostate" (361–363 A.D.). — Constantine was followed by his three sons, who inherited the bad traits of their father without his ability. They massacred nearly all their kinsmen to rid themselves of possible rivals, and then turned against one another. One was killed by a brother's hand; another by a usurper; and while the third devoted himself to theology, the Persians, the Franks, and the Alemanni invaded the empire. His cousin Ju'li-an, leaving his philosophic

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in a great battle at Strass'burg. He drove th
province and strengthened the frontier defenc
who thus proved his ability to rule, became
death of his cousin. Disgusted with the cha
kinsmen, he became a pagan, and strove to
He refrained from persecution, however, an
restore the gods of the old world failed.
man when, after a brilliant campaign against
killed by an arrow of the enemy. In him th
ruler and defender.

Soon after his death the barbarians began
frontier and to settle permanently within the e
up the story of these invasions, however, we s
more important rulers of the century between
tion of the empire in the West.

338. Valentinian (364–375) and Valens (
(379–395 A.D.). — In the year after Julian's
Val-en-tin'i-an emperor. Ferocious in tempe
he was well adapted to command the imperial
were now barbarians. Through the eleven
maintained the hard-pressed frontiers of Britai
crossed the Rhine to chastise the Alemanni
His weak brother Va'lens, however, to who
East, allowed a great host of Goths to cros
settle within the empire. They even defeated
eastern and western branches of the empire
rate governments till *The-o-do'si-us* united th
This ruler distinguished himself, too, by makir
religion of the State. When he ordered the
those who carried out his edict destroyed mar
broke the images. Though the pagans were
their gods, some quietly persisted in their

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formity of Christian faith. By persecuting the A'ri-ans and other heretical sects he hoped to establish the Nicene Creed[1] throughout the East. Under him orthodox Christianity thus became intolerant of all other faiths. It was chiefly this theological zeal which earned for him the title of "the Great."

339. The Empire divided (395); End of the Empire in the West (476 A.D.). — At his death the empire was again divided; Ar-ca'di-us, one of his sons, received as his portion the East, and Ho-no'ri-us, the other, was given the West. Though the Eastern branch maintained itself thereafter for more than a thousand years, the Western gradually fell into the hands of the barbarians. At the same time the government of the West came more and more under their influence. It was significant of this changing condition that Gal'la Placid'i-a, the beautiful, accomplished sister of Honorius, became the wife of A'taulf, a Gothic chief who had been ravaging Italy and who brought his bride rich gifts from the spoils of her people. Placidia afterward returned to Rome, where as regent for her young son she ruled the Western branch of the empire many years.[2]

In the reign of Arcadius, John, whose eloquence won for him the surname Chry-sos'tom — golden-mouthed — became patriarch of Constantinople. He had forsaken the profession of law for a life of solitary devotion. After some years, however, he left his mountain cave to preach in Antioch. When the fame of his wonderful oratory reached the Christians of Constantinople, they forced him to come to their city. Installed as patriarch, he applied himself with great energy to the government of the Church. He compelled most of the religious officials of the Eastern empire to bow to his will; he persecuted heretics; and he denounced the sins of Christians, without sparing the nobles or even the empress Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. In revenge she plotted his ruin. By the decree of a Church council she drove him into exile; and when he returned to continue his denunciation of her vices, she again caused his banishment, this time to a desolate place on Mount Taurus. Some years after his death, which occurred in exile, the authorities of the Church, to atone for their mistreatment of the great

[1] § 333. [2] § 345.



His sermons, still preserved, show a brilliant flow of la for religion and pure morals.

Meanwhile barbarians were seizing provinces ar weaker. At length Ric'i-mer, an able, scheming trol of the government; and while he kept th hands, he made and unmade emperors at pleas self simply patrician, — a word Constantine the to bestow as a lifelong title. In Ricimer's case was at once commander of the army and chief n eign. Three years after the death of the tyran an Illyrian, became patrician of Italy. Refusing himself, he permitted the soldiers to confer i *Romulus*, whom they now called Au-gus'tu-lus The boy had ruled but a few months, howeve elected "king" by the Germans of the army, de pelled the senate to send the purple, with other to Constantinople, in token of the reunion of th head. As governor of Italy subject in name t emperor, Odoacer contented himself with the ti

The *date* of the deposition of Romulus — 4 haps than any other marks the "fall" of the em the transition from ancient to mediaeval history idea of the empire and of the sovereignty of th nople survived, as a matter of fact the Germans l all the West, and were working out in their ow Europe. In turning from the Romans to the G ancient to mediaeval history.

340. The Germans. — While the Greeks an making great progress in civilization, the Gern neighbors, remained barbarous; for in their hon

[1] Or Teutons; § 2, n. 1.

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they had fewer means of learning the customs and the arts of settled life. The *Germania* of Tacitus, composed about 100 A.D., describes their manners and institutions at that early time, before they came under the influence of Rome and of Christianity.

They lived in miserable huts, and dressed in skins or in coarse cloth. Though they were not untainted by vices, as drunkenness and gambling, their morals were on the whole pure; they respected women more than the Greeks and the Romans ever did; they were brave,



A GERMAN VILLAGE

dignified, and free. Before they learned of Christ, they worshipped the powers of nature and had no temples or images.

Some *tribes* followed hereditary kings, others elected dukes to lead them in war and on migrations. The chief men of a tribe met in a council to settle questions of public interest. Important matters they referred to the gathering of all the warriors, who showed their displeasure by a murmur or clashed their weapons in token of approval. This assembly elected chiefs, tried offences of life and death, and decided other important matters.

The life and institutions of the Germans were like those of the

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early Greeks and Italians.[1] As soon, however, as they came into contact with the Romans, they began to learn from them more refined habits and to desire more settled homes. This eagerness for homes was perhaps their chief motive in attacking the empire.

In the time of Marius and Julius Caesar[2] they endangered the empire. In the reign of Augustus they destroyed an entire Roman army.[3] Henceforth they grew more and more powerful, chiefly by uniting their tribes in large *federations*. Such a union was that of the Franks on the lower Rhine, and the Alemanni — "men of all races" — on the upper. Farther east were the Goths, who are said to have once lived in Sweden. From the Baltic to the Black Sea they had journeyed, great swarms of gigantic warriors, with their women and children, and their two-wheeled wagons. Thereafter they kept harassing the eastern provinces by land and sea, till Aurelian gave up Dacia to them.[4] Those who now settled in this province, who are termed West-Goths, or Vis'i-goths, acquired much of the Roman civilization, and accepted Arian Christianity from Bishop Ul'fil-as, who translated the Bible into their speech. Fragments of this work still exist and are highly prized as specimens of the first piece of German literature.



THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

On the right is John the Baptist, on the left the River-god Jordan, around are the Twelve Apostles.

(Mosaic in the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna, Fifth Century A.D.)

[1] § 209; Botsford, *Greece*, pp. 1–3. [2] §§ 286, 298. [3] § 307. [4] § 331.

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341. The Visigoths to the Death of Theodosius (270–395 A.D.). — For about a century the West-Goths lived quietly in Dacia as the allies of the Roman people. With the progress of settled life they became more and more distinct from their less civilized kinsmen, the East-Goths — Os'tro-goths — who lived north of the Black Sea, between Dacia and the Don River. Suddenly this peaceful life was disturbed by the appearance of the Huns, a dark, dwarfish race of savages, with little eyes and scarred, beardless faces. On horseback they swept the country like a tempest, plundering and destroying whatever they found and killing even the women and the children without pity. Those of their enemies whom they chose to spare became their slaves or subjects. They were an Asiatic race, usually classed with the Turanians. Unlike the Germans, they had no wish to settle in the conquered lands, but were content with roving and remained savage. They conquered the East-Goths, and overthrew the West-Gothic king, who lived in Dacia. Thereupon two hundred thousand warriors of the defeated monarch, with their wives and children, gathered on the north bank of the Danube, and implored the Romans to let them cross for safety from their frightful pursuers. The weak-minded Valens, of whom we have already heard,[1] granted their petition on the understanding that they should surrender their arms and give their children as hostages. These were needless conditions; for with their arms they would, in grateful loyalty, have helped him defend the empire.

For many days the Roman ships were conveying the multitude across the river (376 A.D.). But while the officers in charge of this work were intent upon robbing the Goths, the warriors retained their arms, and passed into the empire, burning with rage at the insults and the wrongs they suffered from the depraved government of Constantinople. When famine and further mistreatment goaded them to rebellion, they spread murder and desolation over Thrace and Macedonia. Valens rashly assailed them at Ha-dri-a-no'ple, and

[1] § 338.

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perished with two-thirds of his men (378 A.D.). This was a grave misfortune, for it taught the invading barbarians that they might defeat Romans and slay emperors in open fight. For some time after the battle the Goths roamed about at pleasure, but could not take the fortified cities. From Theodosius,[1] the successor of Valens, they received homes in Thrace, while those Ostrogoths who had followed them into the empire were settled in Phrygia. The barbarians became the allies of the Romans, and Theodosius remained their firm friend.

342. Alaric and Stilicho (395–408 A.D.). — Soon after his death the Visigoths, needing more land and wealth, hoisted one of the most promising of their young nobles, named Al'a-ric, upon a shield, as was their custom in electing a chieftain. Under his leadership they ravaged Greece till the minister of Arcadius, now emperor of the East, bought the friendship of Alaric by making him governor of Illyricum. This gave the barbarian chief means of supplying his men with good arms; so that in a few years he was ready for a more important undertaking, — the invasion of Italy. He had some idea of the value of civilization; and it was his wish to find the best country in which to settle his followers and organize a kingdom. We are to think of him, accordingly, not as a mere destroyer, but as the founder of the first German state which was to be established within the limits of the empire.

It is a remarkable fact that not only the common soldiers but even the best generals and ministers of the empire were now Germans. Such was *Stil'i-cho*, a fair and stately Vandal, who had married a niece of Theodosius, and was at this time guardian and chief general of the worthless Honorius, emperor in the West. Stilicho and Alaric were well matched. Both were born leaders of men; both were brave and energetic, with equal genius for war. But Stilicho had the advantage of Roman organization. Hastily gathering troops from Britain, from Gaul, from various parts in the West, he defeated

[1] § 338.

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Illyricum. But Stilicho had a jealous enemy who never ceased whispering in the ears of Honorius his tale, true or false, of the Vandal's plotting. The miserable emperor at length gave way, and ordered the death of the only man who was able to save the empire. The Roman legionaries followed the example of their master by murdering the wives and the children of the Germans in the army. The enraged barbarians, thirty thousand strong, went off to the camp of Alaric, and besought him to take vengeance by invading Italy.

343. Siege and Sack of Rome (408–410 A.D.); Death of Alaric. — The Gothic king crossed the Alps and marched straight for Rome. For the first time since the days of Camillus the eternal city was besieged by barbarians.[1] Afflicted with famine and pestilence, the depraved citizens bought Alaric off by the payment of an enormous ransom. In the following year he appeared again before the walls, this time demanding whole provinces for the settlement of his men. Not gaining all they wished, the fierce Goths besieged Rome a third time, burst in by surprise, and sacked the city. They killed many citizens and plundered the dwellings; but as Christians they spared the churches and all who took refuge in them.

The sack of Rome astonished mankind; for all had supposed the city inviolable, and in her fall they thought they saw the ruin of the law and order of the world. It discouraged the Christians throughout the empire, that so many holy shrines, so godly a city, should be profaned by those whom they considered pagans. To console them, St. Au-gus'tine wrote his *City of God*, to prove that the community of the Most High would last forever even though the greatest city of earth had fallen.

St. Augustine, the most famous of the Christian Fathers, was born in Africa in 354 A.D. After many years of wayward life he joined the heretical sect of Manichaeans, and somewhat later accepted the orthodox Christian faith. Appointed bishop of Hippo, a city near Carthage, he devoted the rest of his life to speaking

[1] § 231.



and writing in defence of orthodox Christianity against both heresy and paganism. By means of his voluminous works on theology he did much toward reducing the teachings of Christians to a consistent philosophic system. He died in Hippo in the seventy-sixth year of his age, while the Vandals were besieging that city; cf. § 345.

As the Goths did not like to live in cities, they soon left Rome, and wandered southward with their booty. They intended to cross to Africa; but while they were making ready for this, Alaric died — apparently from the fever-laden climate of southern Italy. To prepare a safe resting-place for the deceased king, his followers compelled some Italian captives to turn the Bu-sen'to from its course and to dig a grave in the empty river-bed; then when the burial rites were over, and the river again flowed in its natural channel, they killed the prisoners who had done the work, that no native might discover their secret, so as to disturb the remains of their mighty chieftain. Thus Alaric, the founder of the first Gothic state, died, like Moses, before he could bring his people to their destined home.

344. The Visigothic Kingdom in Spain. — His brother-in-law, Ataulf, succeeded him. This man had once wished to blot the Romans out of existence and to substitute the Goths in their place; but as he saw his followers slow in adapting themselves to settled life, he recognized the value of Rome for order and civilization. Accordingly he became her champion; and taking with him the emperor's sister, whom he hoped to make his bride, he led his nation from Italy to Gaul and Spain. These countries had already been plundered by Vandals, Sueves, and A'lans, whom the Goths had to subdue in order to found their new state. Here their wanderings ended. The country they occupied extended from the Loire in Gaul over most of Spain, with Tou-louse' for its capital. Their state lasted unimpaired till the Franks seized the Gallic part of it, about 500 A.D. In Spain they continued independent for two centuries longer, when the Mo-ham'me-dans swept over them and destroyed their kingdom.[1]

[1] § 358.

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German invasion"; and for that reason we have dwelt at some length on their wanderings and on their relations with Rome. The movements of the other barbarian races we shall follow more rapidly.

345. The Vandals in the Empire (335–435 A.D.).—The Van'dals, another German race, received permission from Constantine the Great to settle in Pan-no'ni-a, a province on the Danube. Here under the influence of Rome, and of Christianity in its Arian form, they made progress in orderly life. But in the time of Stilicho and Alaric they abandoned their settlements and wandered to the northwest, in the direction of the Rhine, joining to themselves on the way the Germanic Sueves and the Alans, an Asiatic people (406 A.D.). As Stilicho had withdrawn the garrisons from the Rhine, to use against Alaric, they crossed to Gaul and ravaged their way into Spain. Here, as we have seen, the Visigoths under Ataulf found them. The Sueves were gradually pressed by the newcomers into the northwestern corner of the peninsula, where they established a small kingdom. The other two races retired southward.

Thus far the Vandals had been driven about from place to place. Now, however, they found their hero-king in *Gai'ser-ic*, under whom they, too, were to appear as a conquering nation. In contrast with the majestic type of the German leader, Gaiseric was short and limping. He had, however, a cunning, nimble mind, and he was grasping, persistent, and bold. In addition to his desire to find lands for his men and a kingdom for himself, he sought to humble Rome, and as an Arian Christian, to destroy the Orthodox church.

The Vandal chief found his opportunity in a quarrel between two Roman officers, A-e'ti-us and Bon'i-face. At this time Galla Placidia was regent of the West. She allowed Aëtius to work upon her feelings against his rival, Count[1] Boniface, then commander in Africa. Ordered to Rome on a groundless suspicion of treason, the count

[1] In Diocletian's system the count was a military officer below the duke; § 332.



turned for revenge to the Vandals, and invited them to invade his provinces. The barbarians accepted the offer. Accordingly, as soon as Gaiseric became chief, he crossed to Africa with the remnant of his nation, numbering perhaps eighty thousand persons, including women and children. In vain the penitent Boniface tried to send him back; Gaiseric was not the man to be swayed by Roman counts.



THE TOMB OF GALLA PLACIDIA, RAVENNA

(Originally the Church of S. Nazario e Celso, built by Placidia about 440; it contains her sarcophagus and that of Honorius.)

To him Africa was a tempting prize. Its large, fertile estates worked by serfs had long supplied Rome with grain. The richest of its many cities was "happy Carthage," prosperous now as before the Punic Wars. The Vandals desolated the fields and took the fortified places by siege or treachery. Meantime a treaty with Rome recognized their kingdom in Africa, subject only to an annual tribute. How weak must have been the Roman army when so few invading barbarians could seize the fairest provinces of the empire!

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346. Vandalism; The Sack of Rome (455 A.D.). — But Gaiseric's followers were not so peaceful as those of Alaric. No sooner had they gained the seaports than they built ships and took to piracy. Thus they harassed Italy and all the neighboring shores. "Whither shall we sail?" the pilot is said to have asked his chief at the beginning of one of these expeditions. "To the dwellings of those with whom God is angry," Gaiseric replied. From their piracy, but more from their pillage of the orthodox churches, wherever they found them, the word Vandalism, derived from the name of their race, has come to signify the aimless, wanton destruction of property.

Deprived of her food supply by these pirates, Rome suffered from famine, and was soon to see the destroyers in her own streets. The emperor at this time was a certain Maximus, who had usurped the throne and had forced Eu-dox'i-a, the widow of his predecessor,[1] to become his wife. She then requested Gaiseric to avenge her wrong by plundering Rome. The Vandals gladly accepted the invitation. For a fortnight they pillaged the city and stored in their vessels all the movable property they considered of sufficient value. Their leader, however, had promised the great Leo, then bishop of Rome, to refrain from bloodshed and from burning the houses; and he kept his word. Besides their shiploads of booty, the Vandals carried away many captives into slavery.

For many years Gaiseric ruled successfully, and extended his lordship over the neighboring islands. Though at his death the glory of his kingdom passed away, it maintained its independence for more than a half-century longer, when it was annexed by the Eastern branch of the empire (534 A.D.).

347. The Burgundians. — Meantime the Bur-gun'di-ans, another German race from the country about the Baltic, made their way into Gaul, where they founded a kingdom in the valley of the Rhone and Saone (pron. *Sōn*) rivers. A writer of the fifth century A.D. speaks of the "gormandizing sons of Bur'gun-dy who smear their yellow

[1] Valentinian III.

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had a taste for poetry; from an earlier Norse myt
orated the *Nibelungenlied*, an epic song of the
Their laws, too, are of interest for the light they
tions between the barbarian invaders and the
their kingdom soon fell under the Franks, the na
the modern Burgundy.

348. The Franks and the Huns. — The Frank
Rhine and had occupied a wide territory on th
river, extending from Mainz to the sea. Thus
the fifth century A.D. the Germans had come to p
Western empire, — Africa, Spain, and parts of
dependent on the emperor, their kingdoms were v
tral Gaul was still held for Rome by an able gov
and The-od'o-ric, king of the West-Goths, were
tried to extend his territory at the expense of t
shall now see them bring the Germans and the
army to repel the great enemy of civilization, — *A*

Since their victory over the Goths, the Huns
dable.[1] It is said that Attila, their king, from his
Hungary commanded the barbarians of Europe
threatened Persia as well as the Roman empire
the provinces of the East and terrorizing (
brought the storm of his wrath upon Gaul. Waste
cities marked his path. At this trying time, the
and Romans in defence of their common country
for the future of Europe. Theodoric and Aë
some distance from Châ-lons', in one of the fierc
to history (451 A.D.). The slaughter was vast.
that the blood from the thousands of wounds swel
brook which flowed through the field of battle
but the Hun was routed. Had he gained the

[1] § 341.

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taken years, possibly centuries, to redeem Europe from the desolation and the barbarism which he, as victor, would have spread over the continent. Such was the importance of this battle.[1]

Though Attila withdrew from Gaul, the next year he appeared in Italy on his errand of destruction. He visited Aq-ui-lei'a with fire and sword. The miserable remnant of the population, joined by refugees from other ruined towns, fled to a cluster of islands along the Adriatic shore. In time their wretched settlement became the



THE GOOD SHEPHERD

(Mosaic in the Tomb of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Fifth Century A.D.)

famous city of Ven'ice, which was to help defend Europe against Attila's kinsmen, the Turks. As the Huns threatened Rome, Bishop Leo came to their chief, and persuaded him to spare the city.[2] Such, at least, is the story; and it is difficult to see what else

[1] Three years afterward Valentinian III, jealous of the fame of Aëtius, invited the great commander into the imperial palace, and killed him there with his own hand.

[2] This was three years before Gaiseric's plunder of Rome, — which the same Leo tried to prevent, but could only soften.

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his departure, and with his death the Hunnis
pieces.

349. Why the Empire in the West "fell" (
now in a position to understand why the We
empire "fell." Before the year 476 A.D., the
most of the provinces had come into the hands
that little more than Italy was left under th
emperor. The native Italians no longer had
resources necessary for defending their countr
the emperors of the fifth century A.D. were weak
little more than puppets of their German com
made and deposed them at pleasure. Thence
the title "patrician," which the chief general
weight with the German soldiers in the servic
emperor. Although no barbarian people had
their permanent home in Italy, a continual stre
pouring in to recruit the army. Among thes
came Odoacer, of whom we have already hear
clever man, respected by the German troops.
a third of the land in Italy; and when the
emperor Romulus refused their demand, they
their shield, thus making him their king.

How he then brought the line of Western e
close has been explained. In fact their power
so completely that no one living at the time
476 A.D. anything worthy of notice. No one
part of the empire had fallen. Indeed, the
emperors in the East satisfied in some degree
had left in the hearts of the barbarians as v
citizens, — a longing for a central power wh
chaos, should stand for law and order through

[1] § 339.


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condition, thought of the Eastern emperor as their own. It is evident, therefore, that the term "fall" is somewhat misleading. In theory, the event of the year was the reunion of the East and West under one head; at the same time, it pointed to an accomplished fact, — the dissolution of the empire in the West.

The happenings of 476 A.D. had this important result, that as Italy ceased to be the home of emperors, the bishop of Rome became the most respected and most influential person in the West, — the pope succeeded to the throne of the deposed Augustus.

Topics for Reading

I. Life of the Early Germans. — Tacitus, *Germania* (English translation); Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. ix; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, chs. iii–xv.

II. Alaric. — Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 28–32; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I. chs. v–vii; Gibbon, chs. xxx, xxxi.

III. The Year 476 A.D. — Emerton, ch. vi. § 1; Gibbon, ch. xxxvi (near end); Oman, *European History*, ch. i; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, Bk. III. ch. v.

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CHAPTER XV

THE NEW GERMAN STATES AND THE EMPIRE (476–800 A.D.)

350. The Condition of Europe (476 A.D.). – the sceptre fell from the hands of the bo "Augustulus," the entire West was still in cl Spain the Burgundians, and more especially making some progress toward settled life and The Vandals of Africa, remaining barbarous, pressed their Roman subjects, while in northe were still pagan, little touched by the civiliza An'gles and the Sax'ons, who were already inva whom we have yet to hear, were not only ignorant of Roman ways of life. Italy, as we l Roman till Odoacer gave a third of her land to Under these circumstances, it is easy to underst was in confusion and conflict, — each invading r German against Roman, pagan against Christia Catholic. In this chapter we shall see how way to order, and how the various conflictin monized in one civilization, one religion, and o

Extending along the ancient frontier on the north, a line of barbarous races pressed upon the heels of their the border. On the shore of the North Sea between the the Fris'i-ans, farther south the Thu-rin'gi-ans and t along the Danube were the Ru'gi-ans, Lombards, and beyond them the Slavs. "All these tribes, like their before them, were showing a general tendency to press their share in the plunder of the dismembered empire." *tory*, p. 6.

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351. The Ostrogoths or East-Goths; Theodoric the Great (476–526 A.D.). — The first of the great forces which helped bring about this change was the East-Gothic nation. When Attila died, it threw off the Hunnish yoke,[1] and settled in Moesia as an ally of the

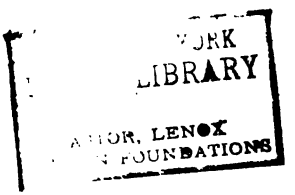


emperor at Constantinople. Between these barbarians and the emperor there was much trouble, which ended in their migration to Italy.

The leader of the movement was Theodoric, known as the Great,

[1] §§ 341, 348.

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CHURCH OF SAN APOLLINARE NUOVO, RAVENNA
(Built by Theodoric.)

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the ablest and most statesmanlike of all the German chieftains whom we have thus far met. He brought his entire nation, women and children as well as warriors, over the Alps, and fought three battles with Odoacer. After conquering his opponent, he put him to death, and then proceeded to take another third of the land of Italy from the owners to give to his men.

Here his violence ceased; *the conqueror became the statesman.* His just laws, borrowed from the Roman code, reconciled the native Italians to their new German neighbors. While he himself remained master of all, he employed his Goths for war, the educated Romans as advisers, and the Italian commons for the humbler works of peace. With remarkable tact he adapted himself to his new position as king of Italy. Though he could neither read nor write, he encouraged education; a barbarian, he yet appreciated the value of Roman law and civilization; an Arian, he tolerated the orthodox Catholics. In this way he aimed to reduce the various classes of his subjects to order and harmony. Under him Italy was secure from invasion, and more prosperous than she had been for centuries. The great cities could now repair their decayed public works and erect new ones. Among the king's buildings in Ra-ven'na, his capital, was a beautiful church in the style of a basilica, which is still standing.

His influence was felt outside of Italy: on the one hand, he continued subject in name to the emperor in Constantinople; on the other, he connected himself by marriages of his relatives with most of the German kings of the West. By such means he brought the warring races of the broken empire into some degree of friendly relation, which crudely foreshadowed the present state-system of Europe.

In his later years, however, there were intrigues to rid Italy of the Goths and to bring the country under the emperor. This trouble led Theodoric to put to death on a charge of conspiracy the two most eminent men of his court, — Bo-e'thi-us, the renowned philoso-

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pher, and Sym'ma-chus, also a noted scholar. Suspecting the pope of disloyalty, the king threw him into prison, where he soon died. Theodoric himself did not long survive his victims. Thus a glorious reign ended in sadness; and no one after Theodoric was able to carry on his great work.

352. Justinian (527–565 A.D.); his Wars. — In the year after Theodoric's death Jus-tin'i-an became emperor at Constantinople. Though his ancestors were rude peasants, he received, in addition to great natural ability, the best education which the Eastern capital afforded.

His ambition was "to restore the grandeur of the empire" by legislation, by great public works, and especially by conquering the German kingdoms of the West. He had the rare faculty of choosing the most competent person for each special service. His wife, the empress The-o-do'ra, was a brilliant woman who increased the splendor of the court while she tyrannized over nobles and magistrates. At the same time she was charitable to the poor; and once in a riot her firmness saved the throne for her husband. So in Bel-i-sa'ri-us the emperor found a commander of remarkable genius, well qualified to lead in the work of conquest. This general subdued the Vandals of Africa in one short campaign (533–534 A.D.); for after the death of Gaiseric they had declined, and their Roman subjects welcomed the army of the East as a deliverer from oppression.

Next year Belisarius attacked the *Ostrogothic kingdom*, which included Sicily as well as Italy. He met with little opposition till he had entered Rome. There the Goths besieged him for a year; meantime Wit'i-gis, their king, cut off the water supply, so that Rome lacked pure water till some of the aqueducts were restored a thousand years afterward. When the siege was at length raised, Belisarius, on his part, found it difficult to take the strong cities of northern Italy. By negotiation, however, he finally secured possession of the king and of the entire country. As the Roman rule was oppressive,

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the Goths immediately revolted; but after a long, fierce struggle (540–553 A.D.) the remnant of their number bade farewell to Italy and dispersed among various barbarian tribes. The peninsula came wholly under the emperor, and was governed for him by an officer termed *ex'arch* whose capital was Ravenna. Still later, Justinian gained a foothold in southeastern Spain, but failed to conquer the entire West-Gothic kingdom.

While the emperor was subduing Italy he was struggling to protect the empire from *the Persians*, who were as mighty as ever. More than once he had to purchase peace by the payment of tribute. It was well for Europe, however, that he was able to accomplish even that; and we should never lose sight of the fact that the German nations were free to work out the destiny of the continent only because the empire formed their bulwark against the powers of Asia. Such it continued to be for hundreds of years longer, till Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks (1453 A.D.).

The legal adviser of Belisarius in his campaigns was a Greek named *Procop'i-us*, who wrote an admirable history of the wars — *De Bellis* — of Justinian. Though this work shows due respect for the emperor and empress, it is evident that in his heart the author disapproved their character. In his later years, accordingly, he composed a secret history — *An-ec'do-ta* — of the scandals and immoralities of the imperial court, whose corruption his anger and disgust exaggerated. This last work did not come to light till after the author's death.

353. Justinian's Internal Improvements. — Like the earlier Roman emperors, Justinian was a great builder of roads, fortifications, aqueducts, and other public works. The most splendid of his many churches was the dome-covered cathedral of St. Sophia, now a mosque. In his reign two Christian missionaries brought eggs of the silk-worm from China to Constantinople, and taught the Europeans the culture of silk. Agriculture, commerce, and the skilled industries still flourished throughout the empire; but the produce went to support the oppressive Church, State, and army. Justinian is most noted, however, as the emperor who finally codified the

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Roman law. Under his authority Tri-bo'ni-an, an eminent jurist, aided by several associates, drew up first the *Code*, containing twelve books of statutes, and second the *Digest*, which summarized the legal decisions of all the most learned lawyers. To these they added a third work, the *Institutes*, a treatise on the principles of law for the use of students. These writings together form the Civil Law, the most precious gift of Rome to the modern world.

In Justinian we find another factor which made for law and order



CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE
(Built by Justinian)

throughout the world. Especially his conquests brought the Western nations into closer contact with Roman civilization, and further impressed upon the minds of the Germans that they, too, were included in the empire.

354. The Lombards in Italy (568–774 A.D.). — The rule of the emperors, however, was financially too burdensome to be long endured in Italy. For twelve years after its conquest the peninsula

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was governed by Nar'ses, an ambitious man, whose public improvements weighed heavily upon the taxpayers. The story is that when the Italians grew weary of his rule, and the successor of Justinian ordered him, accordingly, to return to Constantinople, he besought the Lombards to save him by invading the country. They were a German tribe who had recently settled in Pannonia. In reply to the alleged invitation, their king Al'boin led them into Italy. Though warlike they seem to have been few, so that they never succeeded in conquering the whole country. Their capital was Pavia; and the district they held in the Po Valley still bears the name of Lombardy. Besides this, they occupied a territory in central Italy northeast of Rome, and another in the south of the peninsula.

Alboin did not live long after his conquest of Italy. At a banquet he once bade Rosamond, his wife, drink from a goblet made of the skull of her own father, whom the Lombard king had killed in battle. She obeyed, but afterward had him murdered. Becoming the wife of one of the assassins, she gave her second husband poisoned liquor, and he, discovering the treachery, compelled her to finish the fatal draught. The annals of the German invaders abound in such stories of intrigue and violence.

Lacking a strong central government, the Lombards soon divided into a number of duchies, whose dukes were constantly fighting against one another, against the king, — when they had one, — and against the still unconquered districts. The Italians feared and hated them, for they were far harsher and more barbarous than the Goths had been; in fact, it was only with the lapse of centuries that they gained some degree of Roman refinement.

Meantime their *occupation of Italy had a far-reaching effect* upon the history of the peninsula and of Europe. Their possessions were so distributed as to leave the unconquered territory cut up into duchies of varying size, with scarcely any means of communication with one another. Though these duchies still looked to the emperor as their sovereign, most of them were practically independent. Thus the Lombard invasion destroyed the unity of Italy. In time, the country fell into a condition somewhat like that of ancient

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Greece, with her brilliant independent cities, jealous of one another and constantly at war. It is only in recent years that Italy has become completely, and we may hope permanently, united and free.

As a second result of the Lombard conquest, the *pope of Rome*, isolated from the exarch of Ravenna and from the emperor in the East, began to acquire, in addition to his priesthood, the character of a political ruler. The possessions of the papal office, or see, came to include, under the title of the Patrimony of St. Peter, many estates throughout Italy and Sicily, which, could they have been massed together, would have made a considerable kingdom. As the administrator of the Patrimony, the pope gained something of the power of an earthly, or temporal, prince. The man who did most to bring this about was Gregory the Great, an eminent statesman as well as priest, who became pope in 590 A.D. We shall see how, many years later, the pope was made wholly independent of the Eastern emperor, and how his temporal power was greatly increased and placed on a lasting basis by the favor of a Frankish king.[1]

355. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain (beginning 449 A.D.).—Before beginning the story of the Franks, it is necessary to learn something of the conquest of Britain by the Angles and the Saxons. Though Roman civilization and Christianity took no deep hold upon this island, the yoke of Rome had made the Celtic population weak and cowardly. Hence, when Honorius recalled his troops from Britain (411 A.D.), the inhabitants of that part which had been subject to Rome could not defend themselves against the barbarians who assailed them on every side. Scots from Ireland, Picts from Scotland, and Jute and Saxon pirates grievously distressed them, and threatened, in fact, to overrun the whole country. At length they called upon the Jutes, a German tribe, to help them against the Picts. The defenders became conquerors; and their example was

[1] § 359.

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Saxons, who in time subdued and settled all
of the island. The Britons who survived we
reduced to serfdom, so that little trace of them
land which resulted from the conquest; on the
Scotland, and Ireland remained Celtic. The le
bands became kings, each of the small distri
In time arose seven states, — the so-called
finally united in one kingdom.

As the Angles and the Saxons, before the co
northern Germany, far away from the empire,
of Christianity or of Roman civilization. Un
Britain again became barbarous and pagan. T
to their new home the manners and institutio
theirs in the fatherland, and from which the
to-day have derived their government and law,
the influence of Rome. As to the religion
conquerors, the case was quite different. Pope
sent them missionaries, and others came to
which had already been Christianized. As the
ence between the Irish and Roman churche
which Rome at length triumphed; so that Eng
to the Roman church, acknowledging the po
spiritual authority. It was no little gain to the
civilization that when Britain was forever brok
religion reunited it to Rome.

356. The Franks; Clovis (481–511 A.D.). —
the story of the Franks.

Toward the end of the fifth century A.D., wh
about to enter upon their great political career
banks of the middle and lower Rhine. Not
were the other Germans, they had contented
ually extending their territory. We find them d

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of tribes, each under a chief. One of these petty sovereigns was Clo'vis. His life-work was to be the founding of a united Frankish kingdom, embracing most of Gaul, together with a part of western Germany.

Near him were the Romans, who still held a district in northern Gaul; to the southeast dwelt the Burgundians, and to the south the Visigoths, whose territory included not only a large portion of Gaul, but most of Spain. The Vandals held Africa; and Tneodoric the Ostrogoth was soon to conquer Italy. Such was the condition of southwestern Europe at this time.

In a battle at Soissons (pron. *Swäs-son'*) Clovis conquered his Roman neighbors (486 A.D.). He then defeated the Burgundians, and made them tributary. In another war he brought under his rule most of the West-Goths who lived in Gaul. Many years he was engaged in these conquests. Meantime he was plotting against the chiefs of the other Frankish tribes. By having them murdered, one after another, he finally united in his own hands the authority of all. Thus through war and intrigue he did much to weld Celts, Romans, and Germans into the great Frankish nation.

In the beginning of his reign he and his subjects were pagan. But he married the Burgundian princess Clo-til'da, who chanced to belong to the Roman church; and when, somewhat later, he persuaded himself that her God had helped him win a battle, he and three thousand of his warriors were baptized into her faith. It was as an orthodox Catholic that he conquered the Burgundians and the Visigoths, who were heretical Arians. This close alliance between the Frankish throne and the orthodox church was to have an important effect upon the whole history of the middle ages.

Clovis was a barbarian; though converted to Christianity, he remained treacherous and cruel to the end. Nevertheless, as the maker of a strong, influential nation, he did a priceless service to civilization.

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357. The Merovingians to the Death of Dagobert (511–638 A.D.). — His descendants, who ruled for nearly two and a half centuries after him, carried on his work. They are called Mer-o-vin'gi-ans, from Mer'o-vig, grandfather of Clovis. For a time the members of the dynasty were able and energetic. The kingdom of the Franks prospered, and several German nations submitted to them. Then their conquests ceased; instead of consolidating the great kingdom, rival heirs to the throne of Clovis began to murder one another and to waste the country in civil war. Their cruelty fills nearly a century of their country's history. Sometimes the heirs divided the provinces among themselves, and again a strong ruler would reunite the kingdom. The tendency was to a division into three loosely connected states, — Aus-tra'si-a, which was thoroughly German; Neus'-tri-a, whose population contained an influential Roman element; and Burgundy. The last important Merovingian king was Dag'o-bert, whose reign ended in 638. Thereafter the rulers of this dynasty were so weak and worthless as to earn the title of do-nothing kings.

358. Charles Martel and the Mohammedans (to 732 A.D.). — As these rulers grew more and more feeble, the steward of the royal household, termed Mayor of the Palace, gradually took the management of public affairs into his own hands and became prime minister. In Austrasia the position came to be hereditary in a powerful family known to history as Car-o-lin'gi-an, from Charles the Great, its most illustrious member. The achievement of the early Carolingians was to reunite the Frankish nation. This work was completed by Mayor Charles, afterward surnamed Mar-tel'. It was an especially fortunate event, for the Franks needed their combined strength against the Mohammedans, who had recently conquered Spain and were now threatening all Europe.

The *Mohammedans* were followers of Mo-ham'med, who was born about 571 A.D., in Mec'ca, the holy city of Arabia. Before his time the Arabs were idolaters. but he presented himself to them as

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deep knowledge of the religious and moral needs of his people, he wrote and spoke as one inspired. His writings, which afterward composed the Ko'ran, he asserted to be a revelation from God; to his followers they were what the Bible was to the Christians. As his church grew strong, he proclaimed that the faith should be forced upon unbelievers. "The sword," he declared, "is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, avails more than two months of fasting and prayer; whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels." [1] Henceforth his followers rapidly increased. Some were attracted by faith, others by fear, and others by hope of conquest and plunder. Soon the army of believers spread the faith over Arabia, Syria, Persia, and as far into Asia as Alexander the Great had marched. But when they tried to conquer the Roman empire in the East, the walls of Constantinople withstood them. On the south shore of the Mediterranean, however, they met with little resistance. They conquered Egypt, and in the course of the seventh century A.D. the entire African coast to the Strait of Gi-bral'tar. Fierce religious enthusiasm swept them impatiently on. Early in the eighth century they crossed to Spain and readily overran the decayed kingdom of the Visigoths. Their empire now lay along the Mediterranean in a stupendous crescent, whose horns threatened Christian Europe east and west.

When they invaded France, at first with their usual success, Christianity seemed doomed; but a power existed with which the Saracens [2] had not reckoned, — the fresh, manly nation of Franks lately united under Mayor Charles. At his call, thousands of stalwart warriors gathered to repel the danger. The hosts met in battle near *Poitiers* (pron. *Pwä-te-ā'*) in 732 A.D. All day the light cavalry of the invaders dashed in vain against the immovable ranks of Frankish

[1] Cf. Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, ch. l. [2] *I.e.*, the Mohammedans.

infantry. The Mohammedans lost vast numbers, including their able commander. They saw at once that they had met their superiors, and deserting their camp they retreated southward. The victory saved western Europe from conquest by the Mohammedans; though they were still able to annoy, they were no longer dangerous. To Charles, the victor, after ages gave the name Martel — the Hammer — in remembrance of his blows which crushed all enemies.

359. Pippin (741–768 A.D.). — Charles died in 741 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Pip'pin. Father and son pursued the same methods of building up the power of the Franks; and we need not separate their work here. Outlying provinces which had revolted they reduced to submission; they further strengthened the central authority by engaging the nobles in their service; they brought the churches of the realm into one religious system, which, however, they held subordinate to the State; and with the aid of religion they strove to uplift the morals of their people.

Charles remained simply mayor to his death; but Pippin deposed the royal Merovingian puppet, and himself became king by a double ceremony: the Franks elected him in their own fashion, and the Church anointed him with holy oil according to biblical usage. Thus he ascended the throne with the consent of the pope. In fact the relations between the papal see and the Frankish throne had been friendly from the days of Clovis, and now ripened into a close alliance. Charles Martel had been asked for help against the Lombards, who were besieging the pope in Rome. When another pope found himself threatened by the Lombards, he called on Pippin for aid. Thereupon the king of the Franks twice invaded Italy, took from the Lombards the country about Ravenna, — a territory they had wrested from the emperor, — and instead of restoring it to the rightful owner, he placed it under the rule of the pope. This dominion came to the pope in addition to the actual landed property of his office included under the term Patrimony of St. Peter. As he was now able to throw off all allegiance to the emperor, and as the gift of

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Pippin was indeed vast, this donation rather than the earlier Patrimony[1] is generally considered the beginning of the pope's temporal power. The head of the Church now possessed great revenues, an army, and an influential place among the princes of this world. His temporal power lasted till 1870, when his dominions passed to Victor Em-man'u-el, king of Italy.

360. Charles the Great; King of the Franks (768–800 A.D.). — Charles, who succeeded his father Pippin in 768, is known to us as Charles the Great — Charlemagne (pron. *Shar-le-mān'*). From the fact that he stamped his character upon western Europe, and gave direction to the current of its history for centuries, we reckon him among the most eminent men of all time.

He was a tall, strong man, with large, bright eyes and happy face. A tireless worker, he attended in person to all the duties of government, learned the needs of his subjects, and saw that every one had justice. His ability in government was directed by a well-considered purpose of educating his people and improving their religious and moral condition.

One of his aims was to round out his kingdom on the east by the *conquest of Saxony*. Early in his reign, accordingly, he began the war, which lasted with many interruptions more than thirty years (772–803 A.D.). To conquer an enemy who would not meet him in open fight, who loved freedom and kindred above every law or treaty obligation, was a wearisome task. At length, however, it was done; the Saxons accepted Christianity and the firm, just rule of Charlemagne. Early in the Saxon war, in an interval of quiet, Charlemagne invaded Spain to support a faction of Mohammedans against the central government (778 A.D.). The campaign was a failure; and while recrossing the Alps the army fell into an ambuscade which the mountain Basques had laid for it in a gorge at Roncès-val'les. The king lost his baggage-train and many men. Among the officers killed was one who under the name of Ro'land afterward

[1] § 354.

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLAND
Mercia
(Anglo Saxon)
IRELAND
(Scotia.)
Dublin
Waterford
North Wales
Oxford
Bangor
Lincoln
York
Northumbria
Warwick
Oddington
Exeter
Warham
Wessex
Brest
Vannes
Rennes
Nantes
Poitiers
Saintes
Angoulême
Périgueux
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Dax
Auch
GASCONY
Agen
Toulouse
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Tarragona
Huesca
Tudela
Barcelona
NAVARRE
ASTURIA
CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA
Tortosa
Orleans
Tours
Angers
Le Mans
Rouen
Evreux
Boulogne
Arras
Amiens
Soissons
Laon
Rheims
Metz
Strasburg
Basle
Besançon
Autun
Lyons
Grenoble
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Pisa
Florence
Rome
Naples
Salerno
Capua
Benevento
Bari
Otranto
Tarentum
Brundusium
Syracuse
Messina
Palermo
Trapani
Cagliari
Sardinia
Corsica
Bastia
Ajaccio
Bonifacio
Marseilles
Arles
Nismes
Montpellier
Narbonne
Toulouse
Carcassonne
Perpignan
Barcelona
Tarragona
Valencia
Alicante
Cartagena
Murcia
Granada
Malaga
Gibraltar
Algeciras
Tarifa
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Jaen
Toledo
Madrid
Guadalajara
Saragossa
Huesca
Pampeluna
Roncesvalles
Bayonne
Dax
Auch
Agen
Bordeaux
Périgueux
Angoulême
Saintes
Poitiers
Nantes
Rennes
Vannes
Brest
Angers
Le Mans
Tours
Orleans
Evreux
Rouen

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this expedition, later efforts pushed the Frank
tance south of the Pyrenees.

A few years before the Spanish campaig
Lombards, in response to another call of the p
them. Charlemagne himself put on the iron
though he still remained king of the Franks (77

361. Charles, Emperor of the Romans (8
Christmas Day, 800 A.D., while he was kneel



THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARI
The inner circle of iron said to have been made from a
(Cathedral of Monza)

Church of St. Peter, Pope Leo III crowned
Romans. In one sense this was a revival of th
the West: Roman learning, law, and governr
In another sense it was Germanic: the dominai
the Frankish nation, which had brought abou
races, remained the most thoroughly German

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animated this empire, at once new and old. For a capital, so far as he needed one, Charlemagne preferred Aa'chen, — Aix-la-Chapelle', — or some other German city, to Rome. His heart was German; his mind only was Roman. In his system, too, the idea of Christendom largely supplanted that of the Roman world. His dominion was not the same in extent as the empire of the West; for it left out Britain, most of Spain, all Africa, and a part of Italy; on the other hand, it included Germany, as far at least as the Elbe, — a vast territory Rome had tried in vain to conquer. Not least among his services, Charlemagne so massed the strength of the Germans that they could ward off the Slavs and the Turanians, who pressed upon them from the east.

The most interesting feature of his government was *his relation to the pope.* Following the example of his forefathers, Charlemagne made himself temporal head of the Church as thoroughly as of the State. He controlled the clergy and presided over the religious councils which regulated sacred affairs. The pope was spiritual adviser, whose religious sanctions added weight to the acts of the emperor. Thus the Church was still subordinate to the State; the struggle for supremacy between the emperor and the pope belonged to the future.

Though some years after his death his country was divided, *the idea and the influence of the empire were permanent.* Thereafter men held persistently to the belief in a unity of Christian nations under one head, — this was the controlling idea of the Middle Ages. Formally the empire of Charlemagne continued till Napoleon Bonaparte destroyed it in 1806, a thousand years after its founding.

362. The Empire in the East after Justinian; Wars with the Persians and the Mohammedans (565–718 A.D.). — While the German nations were establishing themselves in the West, preparatory to their union under Charlemagne, the empire in the East was slowly decaying. Wars and excessive taxes still weakened it. The barbarians continued their invasions. Hordes of Slavs made their homes in the provinces south of the Danube.



cli'us (610–641 A.D.). For ten years after his access
ground. They not only held Mesopotamia, Syria, an
seized Jerusalem and conquered Egypt. The loss of t
seemed fatal to the empire; but the capture of the hc
tians to a crusade for its recovery. In violation of co
took the field in person, and in a succession of campa
genius the empire had not seen since Julius Caesar.
provinces, and compelled Persia to sue for peace.

In the following year the *Mohammedans* first assailec
same time attacked Persia. Neither of the great po



PERSIAN WARRIORS
(National Museum, Naples)

fierce onset of the Arabs. Year after year the fanati
their attacks in greater numbers and with increasing fu
humbled, and Heraclius, old and feeble from sickness
in possession of Mesopotamia, Syria, and even Egyp
Moslems, while sweeping over northern Africa into Spa
to the gates of Constantinople. Early in the eighth cer
Mohammedans marched to besiege the capital of the e
their ships blockaded the Bosporus. Leo the I-sau'r
came to the throne at this time, was equal to the emer
fire burned a great part of their armada, he drove the

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363. Image-breaking. — After the victory Leo applied himself to administration. To purify the Christian religion from what he considered superstition, he ordered all holy images to be removed or destroyed, and all pictures on church walls to be obliterated. Hence he is called the first i-con-o-clas'tic or image-breaking emperor. Although Italy defied the order, he enforced it against great opposition throughout the East. The three following rulers, who were of his dynasty, continued the war alike upon the Saracens and upon images. This zeal caused a rupture between the churches of the East and West, for the pope of Rome and the Western clergy favored the use of images. But when the empress Irene took the reins of government, at first as regent for her son Constantine VI,[1] she revived image-worship. The Slavs and the Saracens ravaged her country, and Charlemagne set up a rival empire in the West.

But her empire was naturally strong. Roman organization, discipline, and experience in administration accumulated through hundreds of years, kept the state alive for centuries after Irene, amid wars and barbarian invasions: and the state on its part preserved for the modern world a remnant of the vast treasure of ancient civilization.

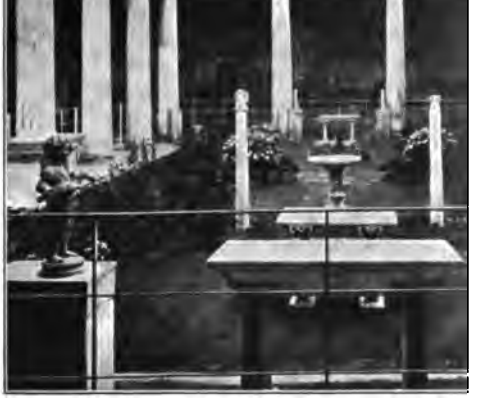
Topics for Reading

I. Mohammed. — Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, pp. 122–126; Gilman, *Saracens* (*Story of the Nations*), chs. iv–xx; Oman, *European History*, pp. 213–220; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. l.

II. Charlemagne. — Emerton, chs. xiii, xiv; Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, ch. iv; Oman, *European History*, chs. xx–xxii; Davis, *Charlemagne*, (*Heroes of the Nations*).

[1] Constantine VI, 780–797; Irene, 797–802 A.D.





PERISTYLE OF A HOUSE IN POMI
(House of the Vetti)

CHAPTER XVI

PRIVATE AND SOCIAL LI

IN THE LATE REPUBLIC AND EARL

364. The Family. — The greatness of Rom the republic was largely due to the character Sparta, strong, healthy children alone were perm and mother were careful to train them in the which made good soldiers and great citizens. girls and boys received all their instruction fr in course of time private schools were opened had learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, study of literature, including Greek and Latin the boy was instructed in composition and or

[1] On the power of the father, see §

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wealthy families educated slaves and paid rhetoricians and philosophers who attended to the various grades of instruction till the youth was ready to put the finishing touches to his education in the schools of Athens, Rhodes, or some other cultured Hellenic city.

The customs and ceremonies of marriage closely resembled those of Greece. Though early usage placed the wife in the power of her husband, she went freely into society, attended the theatres and public games, taught her children, and sometimes aided her husband in his political career. Her position as mistress of the household commanded respect from the government as well as from society.

Under the empire the father came to have less power over the members of his family; children were treated more kindly at home and in school; but the strict morality of old Rome had disappeared. Roman society became thoroughly corrupt: men and women sought pleasure not only in extravagant luxuries, but even in monstrous vices and crimes. Morals were probably at their worst in the early empire. In the reign of Vespasian society was already growing better.

365. The House. — The private life of the Romans was far more secluded from public view than ours is. The traveller who walks the narrow streets of Pompeii sees on both sides plain walls with no windows on the first floor. Two thousand years ago a visitor at one of these houses came first to the vestibule, a narrow entrance court from which a hall led to the heavy oaken door. As the visitor approached, the porter, roused from a nap in his little lodge, opened the door. The dog growled, or in place of the living animal, the guest perhaps saw the creature represented in mosaic on the pavement, with the words, "Beware of the dog — *cave canem!*"

The guest entered the *a'tri-um*, where he found the lord of the house ready to welcome him. This room was roofed over, with the exception of an opening in the centre, which admitted the light and through which the rain poured into a square basin in the floor.



statues, paintings, and purple hangings. On
mosaics.

Adjoining the atrium and in various quarter
dining rooms termed *tri-clin'i-a*, each containi
Three sides of the table were occupied by cc



A ROMAN MEAL

luxurious Romans reclined while eating their su
board on the fourth side held the costly vases a
proprietor; and the whole room was lavishly ac
art.

The per'i-style was an inner court planted w
and surrounded by a colonnade. Round this co
rooms and other private apartments of the wor
the men were grouped about the atrium. Ther
bathrooms, and sometimes a library. This desc

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first floor. The upper rooms are not so well known, and they were certainly less attractive.

366. The Slaves. — The care of a lordly residence required the service of a multitude of slaves. Many were needed to admit the guests, many to care for the baths, bedrooms, kitchen, and dining rooms, as well as for the personal service of the various members of the family. On going out the master or mistress was accompanied



HOUSE FURNITURE
(From Pompeii)

by a throng of servants, whose number and splendid livery advertised the rank and wealth of their owner. Other companies of slaves spun wool, made clothes, kept the house in repair, and cared for the sick. There were some whose task was to enforce order and quiet among the rest.

As a rule the master treated his slaves with great cruelty. For the slightest offences he whipped, tortured, or crucified them. In the country they often worked in gangs chained together, and slept in crowded, filthy dungeons. Under the empire, however, men and

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women gradually learned to treat their slaves with greater kindness. Claudius and other emperors after him made laws to protect them, till at last they came to be regarded as human beings. Constantine the Great forbade the separation of slave families.

It often happened that a slave won his freedom by faithful service or purchased it with his savings. He then became a client of his former master, whose business he usually helped manage. The *freedmen* formed a large, intelligent class, socially inferior to freemen, but very enterprising and influential.



CINERARY URN
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

367. Social Life and Amusements. — The imperial household, like that of any noble, depended on the labor of slaves and freedmen. In the morning the emperor received the magistrates, senators, courtiers, and friends. In the same manner the nobles received their clients, who if poor were given their daily allowance of twenty-five *as'ses*, — the equivalent of a dinner; candidates for office came likewise to ask for the favor of the rich man's influence. Every morning, accordingly, the streets were thronged with these crowds of early callers. In the afternoon the master of a house entertained his friends at dinner, or perhaps accepted an invitation to dine out. The banquet of the Romans resembled that of Greece, but was far more magnificent and expensive. Though the wealthy Romans occasionally attended the theatres, they preferred to spend their time in the public baths or at the races in the Circus Maximus or at the

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seaside resorts, the most famous of which was Bai'ae.

368. Death. — At some time a man had to give up his business or pleasure, and die. Kinsmen and friends took part in the funeral procession. The dancers, the music, the acting of the mimes, whose leader mimicked the deceased, the waxen masks worn by persons dressed to represent the ancestors, the wailing of hired mourners — all combined to make the ceremony at once solemn and grotesque. A near kinsman pronounced a eulogy on the deceased; the corpse was burned on the funeral pyre; and an urn containing the ashes was deposited in the family tomb.

Summary of Ancient History

Ancient history is a unit comprising three closely related parts, — the Orient, Greece, and Rome. It was the task of the Oriental peoples in the remote past to make a beginning of political organization, of the useful and fine arts, of all the elements of civilization. Their work, as that of beginners, was necessarily imperfect. The Greeks, improving upon their ideas and inventions, developed the first European civilization. They excelled in industry and commerce, in literature, art, and education, and in the creation of ideals; the most valuable of all their productions is the ideal of political and intellectual liberty. In Greece the individual and the free city reached a many-sided and almost perfect development. Falling at last under the power of the Romans, Greece led her conquerors captive, trained them in her immortal ideas, and enriched their lives with her culture. After taking these lessons of the Greeks, the Romans became teachers of the European nations. Though they were stern masters, often selfish and unscrupulous, the training they gave was most valuable. From them Europe learned the arts of peace as well as of war, — lessons in building good dwellings and substantial public works, in



BAIÆ
(The Famous Bathing-place of the Romans.)

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in administration, in obedience to authority, a
education and the Christian religion. As Rome
in power, her influence extended and deepenec
the heritage of her civilization and discipline pas
and Teutons — her children by birth and adopt
hood, these sons of Rome and Germania form t
of Christian nations in Europe and the America

Topics for Reading

I. The House. — Preston and Dodge, *Private Li* Becker, *Gallus*, Scene ii; Guhl and Koner, *Life of the G* Mau, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, Pt. ii (Pompeian Hous

II. Roman Dress. — Preston and Dodge, ch. iv; Becl Scene viii and excursus; Inge, *Society in Rome under* Guhl and Koner, § 95.

III. Schools and Books. — Preston and Dodge, pp 178; Thomas, *Roman Life under the Caesars*, ch. ix ; *the Days of Cicero*, chs. i, ii ; Becker, *Gallus*, Scene iii



A WELL-CURB
(Vatican Museum, Rome)

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CHIEF EVENTS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

(The great periods are in italics. Most dates before 1000 B.C. are more or less approximate.)

THE ORIENT	GREECE	ROME
B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
4800 First dynasty in Egypt.		
3800 Sargon, king of Accad in Chaldea.		
2778–2565 Twelfth dynasty in Egypt.		
1587–1328 Eighteenth dynasty in Egypt.		
	1500–1000 *Mycenaean Age; first period of colonization.*	
1150 The Hebrews conquer Canaan.		
1125 Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria.		
1122–256 Chow dynasty in China.		
	1000–700 *Epic Age.*	
1000 Tyre becomes prominent.		
	776[1] First Olympiad.	
		753 (?) Founding of Rome.

[1] This is the point from which the Greeks reckoned time, as we do from the birth of Christ. An Olympiad — period of four years — was the period between two successive festivals at Olympia.

B.C.

B.C.

750–550 *Second period of colonization.*

722–705 Sargon, king of Assyria.

621 Draco codifies the laws of Athens.

604–562 Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

594 Solon archon of Athens.

560–510 *Pisistratus and his sons tyrants of Athens.*

553–529 Cyrus, king of Persia.

550 Sparta head of Peloponnese.

508 Cleisthenes reforms the government of Athens.

499–494 Ionic revolt.

490–479 Great war between Greece and Persia.

490 Battle of Marathon.

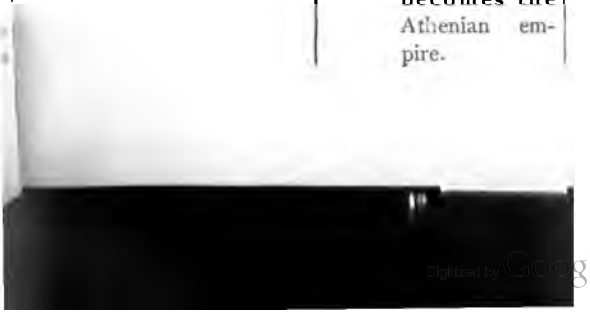
480 Battle of Thermopylae, of Artemisium, of Salamis, and of Himera.

479 Battle of Plataea and of Mycale.

477–454 (?) Confederacy of Delos.

461–431 Age of Pericles.

454 (?) The Confederacy of Delos becomes the Athenian empire.



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B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
	445 Thirty Years' Truce between Athens and Sparta.	443 First censors.
	431–404 Peloponnesian War.	431 Battle of Mt. Algidus.
	421 Peace of Nicias.	
	415–413 Sicilian Expedition.	
	411 Rule of the Four Hundred at Athens.	
	405 Battle of Aegospotami.	405 (?)–396 Siege of Veii.
	404 Peace between Athens and Sparta.	
	404–371 Supremacy of Sparta.	
	404–403 The Thirty at Athens.	
401 Expedition of Cyrus the younger.		
	395–387 The Corinthian War.	390 Sack of Rome by the Gauls.
387 Treaty of Antalcidas.		
	371 Battle of Leuctra.	
	371–362 Thebes attempts to lead the Greeks.	367 The Licinian-Sextian Laws.
	362 Battle of Mantineia; end of Theban greatness.	
	359–336 Philip, king of Macedon.	342–341 First Samnite War.
		340–338 Great Latin War.
	338 Battle of Chaeroneia.	



B.C.

B.C.

336-323 Alexander, king of Macedon.

333 Battle of Issus.

331 Battle of Arbela.

301 Battle of Ipsus.



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197	Battle of Cynoscephalae.
198	Battle of Magnesia.
168	Battle of Pydna.
146	The Romans destroy Carthage and Corinth.

ROME

133	The Romans destroy Numantia in Spain.
133–27	*Third period of the republic; the revolution from republic to empire.*
133	Tiberius Gracchus tribune of the plebs.
123–122	Gaius Gracchus tribune of the plebs.
91–88	The Social War.
82–79	Sulla dictator.
63	Cicero consul; the conspiracy of Catiline.
58–50	Conquest of Gaul.
48	Battle of Pharsalus.
31	Battle of Actium.
27 B.C.–41 A.D.	*Julian emperors; dyarchy.*
27 B.C.–14 A.D.	Augustus emperor.
A.D.	
9	Overthrow of Varus by the Germans.
14–37	Tiberius emperor.
41–96	*The Claudian and Flavian emperors; from dyarchy to monarchy.*
41–54	Claudius emperor.
54–68	Nero emperor.
69–79	Vespasian emperor.
79	Eruption of Vesuvius.
96–180	*The Good Emperors; limited monarchy.*
98–117	Trajan emperor.
117–138	Hadrian emperor.
138–161	Antoninus Pius emperor.
161–180	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus emperor.



of absolute monarchy.

211–217	Caracalla emperor; all freemen of the citizens.
222–235	Alexander Severus emperor; the new P
284–337	*From Diocletian to Constantine; recon absolute monarchy.*
284–305	Diocletian emperor.
313	Edict of Milan granting the Christians
324–327	Constantine sole emperor.
325	The council of Nicaea.
337–476	*The invasions of the barbarians; the in the West.*
376	The Visigoths cross the Danube.
395	Division of the empire between Arcadiu Theodosius.
408–410	Alaric besieges and plunders Rome.
410	The Vandals and Sueves settle in Spain
418	The Visigoths settle in Gaul.
429	The Vandals invade Africa.
449	The Saxons invade Britain.
451	Attila the Hun invades Gaul; battle of
476	Romulus "Augustulus" deposed; reunic Odoacer patrician and king of Italy.
476–800	*The new German nations to the fou Charlemagne.*
493–453	Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.
496	Clovis accepts Christianity.
527–565	Justinian I emperor.
568	The Lombards invade Italy.
610–641	Heraclius emperor.
622	Mohammed flees from Mecca to Medin
711	The Mohammedans invade Spain.
732	Battle of Poitiers (Tours).
768–800	Charles the Great king of the Franks.
800	Charles the Great crowned emperor of

[1] The date of the Hegira — flight of Mohammed — Mohammedans reckon time.



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2. Each chapter corresponds with a period or epoch; this helps the pupil to gain a distinct conception of each period, and to a correct arrangement and subordination of events. In most books the chapters are arbitrary divisions.
3. Marginal headings — sufficiently bold to be used as topics, but they do not interrupt the thought, or break the interest, as they would, were they extended across the page.
4. Frequent quotation of sources; makes the subject more vivid and real.
5. Concrete treatment of the constitution. This book represents the people, senators, and magistrates as living, thinking, acting, governing, etc. It does not treat Rome as an abstract legal or political system, but as a city made up of human beings.
6. Movement — in the entire book there is no isolated paragraph; the thought is continuous throughout and the verbs are in the active voice.
7. The outline of the Republican constitution, p. 353 ff., serves as an example of what should be done in the preparation of lessons, and at the same time is a complete, logical presentation of the only really difficult subject in Roman history.
8. The "Studies" require a thorough digestion of the material, and one who works them out faithfully will be able to pass the examination for admission to any college.

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BY

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SCOPE OF THE BOOK

In scope and method, this book is similar to the "History of Greece" by the same author. Omitting useless and perplexing details, it aims to introduce the reader to the public life of the Romans, to illustrate their character in war and in peace, and to interpret their genius for organization and for building. The arrangement and the connection of topics lay emphasis on the continuity of the subject; wars and territorial organization, on the one hand, and the constitutional, social, and intellectual growth, on the other, are treated in parallel chapters, or sections of chapters; and in place of disjointed paragraphs within the chapter, the reader follows an uninterrupted line of thought from the beginning to the end.

More than the usual stress is placed upon the period of the emperors, as the time during which Rome stamped her character upon the history of the world. Attention is directed, not so much to the vices and the intrigues of the imperial court as to the progress of mankind both in the capital and in the provinces. Following the recommendations of the Committee of Seven, the author continues the narrative to Charlemagne, and includes an account of the growth and the organization of the Christian Church, of the invasions and settlements of the barbarians, and of Germanic life and institutions under the influence of Rome.

A feature of the "History of Greece" especially commended by teachers, is repeated in this book, — frequent quotations from the original literature, which give life and reality to the subject and enable the reader to taste the sources. It contains, further, many illustrations of landscape, art, and customs, with plans and maps for the study of epochs as well as for general reference. Among the "Helps" of the closing chapter is an historical outline of the early Roman Constitution.

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